

The
BULLETIN
of
Friends Historical
Association



QUAKERISM IN DANZIG
YEARLY MEETINGHOUSE AT MOUNT PLEASANT
THE FOUNDING OF WHITTIER COLLEGE

Vol. 41

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No. 2

Friends Historical Association

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QUAKERISM IN DANZIG

BY WILLIAM I. HULL*

Edited by HENRY J. CADBURY

[The following pages have been copied with some abbreviation from the manuscript history of Quakerism in Holland prepared by the late William I. Hull. He subsequently revised his plan for this elaborate work so as to present part of it in ten monographs of which five were published between 1933 and 1941, the last of them posthumously. But the manuscript included the story of Quakerism in nearly one hundred places, most of which were not systematically dealt with in the published volumes. Danzig was one of these, for the work aimed to include western Germany as well as Holland. This section seemed independent enough to publish now separately. The editor is grateful to Hannah C. Hull for permission to do so. The omissions are mainly of long quotations from sources available elsewhere in print. The additions in the present editing are indicated by square brackets as in this note. The last half is summarized here in a note.

Attention may be called here to the brief chapter on the same subject in William Hubben's *Die Quäker in der deutschen Vergangenheit*, (Leipzig, 1929), pp. 97-101, and to the current research carried on by Marek Waysblum as noted in this BULLETIN, 40 (1951), 39.]

* William I. Hull (1868-1939), Howard M. Jenkins Research Professor of Quaker History at Swarthmore College, was the author of *William Penn and the Dutch Quaker Migration to Pennsylvania* (1935), *Benjamin Furly and Quakerism in Rotterdam* (1941), and other works.

THIS city, far distant from the Netherlands, in the north-eastern part of Prussia, by which it was annexed in 1793, became familiar with Quakerism at an early time in the history of the Friends.

William Ames made his appearance in it in 1661, and wrote an epistle there in the same year addressed to "My worthy Brothers, Sisters and Friends, for whom by God's will I have labored so that the immortal seed might be awakened in you."¹ This letter was printed in the Dutch and affords evidence that the people of Danzig and of the parts of Germany among whom Ames labored were of Dutch nationality or descent. Danzig was then, and until 1793, a free city under the suzerainty of the King of Poland, and Ames made a missionary excursion from it into the Kingdom of Poland, among the Mennonites, whom he calls "Baptists," and then says of them that "they are a very wicked people, notwithstanding their profession"; of the Polish people he says that they "are much like unto the Ireish people." [At this point W. I. Hull inserts the text of two letters from Ames to Fox (A. R. Barclay MSS 8 and 7) which he subsequently published in *The Rise of Quakerism in Amsterdam, 1655-1665*, pp. 72-76.]

The visit of William Ames to Danzig must have resulted in some of its inhabitants accepting Quakerism, for we find in a letter from Steven Crisp, probably written to Isaac Penington, and dated Amsterdam, the tenth of Second Month, 1663, the following postscript: "One thing I had forgot to acquaint thee with: two days ago arrived here, two or three Friends, who say they were banished from Dantzick."² It is stated also, in a letter from William Caton to Margaret Fell in 1664, that the city magistrates had resorted to imprisonment and banishment to exterminate the new heresy.

Some idea of the beginnings of Quakerism in Danzig and of the way in which the magistrates entered upon its extermina-

¹ W. I. Hull, *The Rise of Quakerism in Amsterdam, 1655-1665* (Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, 1938), p. 78 and note 145.

² *Letters of Isaac Penington*, edited by John Kendall (London, 1796), p. 102.

tion is given by Benedict Figk,³ a minister of the Parish Church of Danzig. In one of the appendices to his German version of Richard Blome's *Fanatick History* he gives an account of the "examination of some Quakers at Dantzig."

[The first part of this was printed in *The Rise of Quakerism in Amsterdam*, pp. 76-77. A paraphrase of later parts continues here:]

During the next two years, meetings were held by some of Ames's adherents, and the clergy probably complained of them; for on the third of September, 1663, the Vice-President ordered a strict search to be made for Quakers in the city, and the next day there was brought before him for examination a certain Christian Puttel, tailor (*Saumtschneider*: seam-cutter). Puttel also appeared with his hat on, but it was immediately knocked off by one of the attendants. In reply to questions, he explained some of the Quaker doctrines as well as he could, seeing that he had been a Quaker for only about nine months. He also said that two meetings were held every Sunday, one in the morning and one in the afternoon, with a hasty lunch at home between the meetings; and that in meeting, all present sat in silence at a table, when one of their number would arise and preach of the Truth for about a half-hour, and after more silence the preacher would close the meeting with prayer. Martin Stimer, he stated, had been the preacher, and the only one, so far; but he had now left for the city, and the meetings were held in unbroken silence. He admitted that attempts had been made to reconvert him to Lutheranism, but in vain. The outcome of Puttel's examination is not given, but he was probably left to the further efforts of the Lutheran clergy.

On the same day there was brought before the Vice-President, Gertrudt, a single woman (*seel*), the widow of a former tailor in Scotland, "N. N." by name. She was now living in the Holtzgasse, in Danzig. She acknowledged freely and frankly that she was a Quakeress, and had been one for several years, that she had attended the meetings of her fellow-believers

³ [For the written controversy with this Danzig priest, in which George Fox and Robert Barclay had a hand, see H. J. Cadbury, *Annual Catalogue of George Fox's Papers* (Philadelphia, 1939), p. 12 item q.]

twice [on Sundays], at the home of Master Isaac the Tailor, in the New Garden, and that Martin Stimer had attended also and preached. She said that she had been a member of the Lutheran Church of St. Barbara, Isaac Fabricius pastor; that she had a daughter of eleven, who belonged to no church; and that she read industriously in the New Testament and in the writings of Johann Arnst [sic].⁴ The examination ended with Gertrudt's being forbidden to meet with the Quakers in the future; and she does not seem to have had the last word, either of compliance or refusal.

The next day, Gergen Wunderlich was examined. He stated that he had met with William Ames and his associates in this city, and had joined in their meetings for a time; that he had then gone to Holland to study for his profession of the practice of medicine; that he had attended the meetings of the Quakers there, and disagreed with their doctrines in only three points, namely, in regard to paedo-baptism, the Lord's Supper, and "the Hat." Their doctrines, he believed, agreed for the most part with those of Johann Arnst Thaulery⁵ and the writings of Thomas à Kempis. He told of the Quaker meetings in Holland, which were dominated by silence and the moving of the Spirit; and he explained that there were two kinds of "Quakers" in Holland, namely, the so-called Quakers who wore a sword, and the true Quakers who did not. According to his statement, (*seiner Aussage nach*), there were fifty true Quakers in Amsterdam, and they were in accord with those in England in every particular (*mit denen in Engelland sich befindenden in allen consentiren*). Wunderlich admitted that he had written something in Holland against the Lutheran religion, and sent it to his former pastor, Herr Fehlau; but he denied that he frequented the Quaker meetings in the Schidlitz, or attended at any time a meeting at the home of the tailoress in the Holtzgasse, much less that he distributed among the people (*vulgiret*) the writings of the Quakers. He did admit, however, that he had sent to his

⁴ Johann Arndt's *Lessons on True Christianity* was a popular book in Germany in the seventeenth century and had strong leanings towards mysticism.

⁵ Johann Arndt's *Die Historie Tauleri* (The History of John Tauler). [This does not appear to have been published until 1689].

father-in-law, Arent Josten, of Ebling, a small tract entitled, *The Corner-Stone (Eckstein)*.⁶ Finally, he was dismissed, with a warning to return to the Lutheran Church.

These gentle methods of dealing with Quakerism in Danzig were replaced, as has been seen, by more stringent ones, which doubtless bore heavily upon the poorer people who evidently formed the first converts in the city. Quakerism made some progress for a time in Danzig; and, as was the case elsewhere, this progress seems to have been made partly at the expense of the Mennonites. Steven Crisp, in *Het Tweede Deel van de Uytroeping tegens de Vervolginge in Vrieslandt*, published in 1671, relates the story of Jacob van Buylaert and his persecution by the Mennonites of Danzig, "of whose community he had once been a member," who had first expelled him and then, "according to the accursed custom which exists among them," kept his wife separated from him.

In the Colchester MSS 36, there is "A noat of what lately happened among the Mennists," which was evidently drawn up by Crisp, and in this also there is the following short reference to the incident just mentioned: "In Dantzick have the ministers gotten away the wife of Jacob Buylaert an aged Couple yt had lived many yeeres in great love and unity but now he having owned the truth they have banisht him & by threatening his wife with the same, holds how [her] from him & have done soe about these 5 yeres though noe other cause is soe much as alleged against him." Buylaert himself died in prison (*het Blockhuys*) at Leeuwarden, about the beginning of the year 1671, but, as Crisp remarks, the Mennonites were unable to dim his testimony, which lived on after his death.

How strong Van Buylaert's and others' "testimony" was in winning Mennonites to the Quaker fold in Danzig does not appear; but it is significant that about this time the Friends organized regular meetings in the city. The committee of the London Yearly Meeting, appointed in 1770 to visit the meetings on the Continent, reported that "At Dantzic, a Meeting was first held about the year 1671, on the first and fourth days of the

⁶ James Parnel's *The Stone which the Builders have Rejected* [Cf. *Rise of Quakerism in Amsterdam*, p. 217, note 459.]

week; the Men's and Women's Monthly Meeting was [Meetings were] first settled about 1682; and a Yearly Meeting was appointed to be held six weeks after the yearly Meeting at Amsterdam in 1683".⁷ This would appear to mean that the Yearly Meeting in Danzig was established in 1683, and appointed to be held annually six weeks after the holding of the Yearly Meeting in Amsterdam. But there is contemporary evidence that the Danzig Yearly Meeting, as well as its Monthly Meeting, was established in 1682. Roger Longworth in a letter (probably to James Harrison), dated (probably in Friedrichstadt) the twentieth of Fifth Month, 1682, writes as follows:

I came to Dansicke & had a blessed heavenly meeting with friends. . . . The next day being the 23: I had another blessed meeting. . . . They had a men's meeting the 24th., and things did open in me to them, shewing them their places and services in the church of Christ, & the woman friends said why may not we have a meeting as well as the men. I said I know no cause, but you may as well as the men, soe they were glad & in a short time they set up a yearly meeting.⁸

We learn from the London Yearly Meeting's Epistle of the next year, 1683, that "some tender Friends from Dantzic" were present at the London Yearly meeting, and it was probably on that occasion that the Danzig Yearly Meeting was first officially represented at London. After noting this fact, the Epistle continues: "by which we understand that they are in unity, and the Lord's blessed presence is among them, and his truth spreads and prospers."

The history of Quakerism in Danzig, however, was not marked by unity, spread, and prosperity. Efforts were made by the Friesland Monthly Meeting in 1701, to ascertain the details of this history, and Friends at Friedrichstadt and Amsterdam assisted in these efforts, but without avail. The search was

⁷ [See *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, 44 (1952), 11-12].

⁸ Pemberton Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, I, 198. Quoted by permission. [Cf. W. I. Hull, *William Penn and the Dutch Quaker Migration to Pennsylvania* (Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, 1935), p. 362. Equally definite information to the same effect from Peter Hendricks and Jan Claus is mentioned by Fox in a letter to them recently recovered. See this BULLETIN, 38 (1949), 31.]

renewed by the Friends of Amsterdam and by "H. L. Ibbeken at Dantzick," in 1772, and again without results.

This last search was reported by Vanderwerf the Younger, of Amsterdam, in a letter written to John Wright and the London Meeting for Sufferings on the seventh of Second Month, 1772. Vanderwerf reports that H. L. Ibbeken at Danzig enquires whether the Meeting for Sufferings have any records respecting Friends at Danzig. He (Ibbeken) finds they worked in connection with Amsterdam Friends in 1685, and he believes that liberty of conscience was granted them by the Duke of Holstein in 1692. Vanderwerf notes that the first statement agrees with the Amsterdam records, but of the second he can find no trace; on the contrary, he says, "the last that went under our name were persecuted and imprisoned." He will be most grateful for any information.⁹

Such traces of this history as are now extant reveal a story of persecution, suffering and charitable aid extending over a half-century, until the last Friend vanished from the city.

The persecution began, as has been seen, soon after or perhaps at the time of the visit of William Ames in 1661. The desired results did not ensue during the next fifteen years, and in the late 1670's the Danzig Senate took up the business in earnest. Three of the Quakers, namely, George Wunderlich, a physician's assistant, Daniel Abrahamson, a tailor, and Christian Puttel, a linen-draper, were arrested at Friends meeting and imprisoned. Since "the Honorable Council doth not think it possible to keep them close enough [in prison]," the Senate ordered them to be transported "anywhere beyond the Seas, with this Determination, That in case they shall come hither again, they shall without fail be put in the House of Correction, or be punisht with some other hard Punishment." Accordingly, the three Friends were sent on board the "Pillar of Fire" to England.

It was probably the arrival of the three exiles in London which moved the Meeting for Sufferings to send out an order to the various monthly meetings in England requesting them to

⁹ See the letter from Jan Vanderwerf, Jr. to John Wright in the Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings: Epistles Received, IV, p. 297.

take up a collection for "the relief of suffering Friends at Dantzic, Embden, Holstein and elsewhere." This was done on twenty-fourth of Second Month, 1677; and at the same time and place (the Bull and Mouth Meetinghouse), George Watts and four other Friends "agreed to advance 10 pounds each pending a collection."¹⁰

This punishment did not deter the other Friends of Danzig from holding their meetings for worship, and arrests, imprisonment, and banishment continued. George Fox, to sustain their faith and endurance, wrote them a letter dated "Swarthmore, the 17th of the 3d Month, 1676," in which he bade them "look above all your outward *Sufferings*, and him that is out of *Truth*, that makes you to *suffer*. . . . Let not the *Birth* of the *Flesh*, with all his carnal *Weapons*, *Goals*, and *Prisons*, *Threats* or *Reproaches*, move you. . . . Oh, be valiant for God's *Glory* and his *Truth* upon the *Earth*, and spread it abroad, answering that of God in every Man and Womans' Conscience. . . ." He pointed them to the love of God; the rock of ages, Christ Jesus; the well of life, the plant of God within them; God's hedge around them, which will keep out the devil and all the venomous beasts; to the Lord's city set upon a hill, where the light shines, and the heavenly salt is, and the lamps burning, and trumpets sounding forth the praise of God. Fox also told them of the prosperity and spread of truth in England and America; and referred as follows to his *Christian Liberty Commended* (1675): "I writ something to the Magistrates, which is in Print in *England*; which, if you have it not to give them, you may send into *Holland*, and let it be translated into your Language, and given to them, and spread it up and down in your Country."¹¹ Fox's advice was followed; his letter to the magistrates was translated into both German and Dutch and printed in Amsterdam in 1676, and the printed German copies sent to the Danzig Friends together with a German version of one of Pieter Hendrick's pamphlets.

In 1677-78, Christian Andreas, Isaac van Beerle, Nicholas Rüst and his wife, Daniel Thomas, Hans Webber, Hans Hermans, Mighel Mugge and his wife, were among the sufferers.

¹⁰ Portfolio XVI, 23, Friends House Library, London.

The decrees of banishment of 1678 and 1679 included both Danzig and the suburban village of Schidlith, "all and everyone" of whose inhabitants were ordered "not to presume to entertain any of the said Quakers in their Houses or Habitations" on pain of punishment. Andreas, in a letter of Eleventh Month 22, 1677/78, addressed to Jan Claus, gives details of the persecution.¹²

A few months later (the thirtieth of Sixth Month, 1678) Steven Crisp wrote from Amsterdam the following reference to this persecution:

At Dantzick the Rulers have sentenced Friends to depart the City in eight Days, or to be led out by the Hangman, and have brought out two, who, when the Man had left them, went to a Friend's House in the Suburbs, and after some Time to their Houses, from whence they were brought to Prison, and we expect daily to hear of their being all banished that will not give Security not to come at Meetings.¹³

When Fox and Penn were in Amsterdam in 1677, they received letters from Friends of Danzig relating their heavy sufferings and asking advice as to an address to the King of Poland who was in Danzig at the time. "It fell upon me," says Penn, "to write the following letter [to the King of Poland] in the name of the *Friends* of Dantzick." Penn's letter, to the renowned John Sobieski, who was to come to the aid of Vienna against the Turks a half-dozen years later, is then given in full in his Journal. He first states Friends' beliefs under eight heads, then denounces religious persecution, and finally appeals to the king to put a stop to it, quoting one of his ancestors, King Stephen, as saying "I am King of Men, not of consciences, King of Bodies, not of Souls," and bidding him be not less noble than his ancestor, and to "Consider how Quietly and Comfortably

¹¹ George Fox, *A Collection of the Many Select and Christian Epistles, Letters and Testimonies* (London, 1698), Epistle 336, pp. 398-399.

¹² Joseph Besse, *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers* (London, 1753), II, 433-34. [This letter was copied out in full in Hull's MS.]

¹³ *Ibid.*, II, 434.

our Friends Live under other Governments."¹⁴

Fox too was moved to write letters at the same time to and in behalf of the Danzig Friends.¹⁵

After his return to England, Fox received a letter from the Friends of Danzig, who evidently pleaded that their condition was such as to call for assistance in defense against persecution rather than for an aggressive campaign of propagandism. Fox, accordingly, wrote a letter to the King of Poland, which he sent to Pieter Hendricks, Jan Claus and Jan Roelofs Vanderwerf, in Amsterdam, with the request that they translate it into "High Dutch, and send it to the friends there to give to the King; or you may print it, after it be delivered in manuscript, which may be serviceable to other princes." The eight-page High Dutch or German version was printed by Jacob Claus in Amsterdam in 1678. It was dated "London 12. Novembr. 1677," and signed by George Fox; after his name followed those of ten others who were evidently German and Dutch, and some of whom are known to have been Friends of Danzig. Their names are as follows: Christian Pittel, Daniel Abrahams, Michael Mugge, Hans Arzinger, Isaac von Berlen, Dirck Roell, Nicholas Rüst, Daniel Thomas, Hans Harmenszen, Christian Andres.¹⁶

About seven years later, Fox wrote another letter "To the Suffering Friends of Dantzick."¹⁷

Finally, in 1689, Fox wrote a letter of encouragement for the Friends of Danzig, and one of remonstrance for the magistrates of Danzig, which he sent to Hendricks with the request that they be translated into High Dutch and with the permission to have them printed and "sent abroad" if it seemed best to do so.¹⁸

¹⁴ *A Collection of the Works of William Penn* (London, 1726), I, 56-58. It appears to have been written on Seventh-Day evening preceding the great meeting for worship the next morning, in which Penn took a leading part.

¹⁵ George Fox, *Journal* (London, 1694), pp. 446-448.

¹⁶ [Cf. Joseph Smith, *Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books* (London, 1867), I, 696—last entry on page.]

¹⁷ Fox, *Epistles* (1698), Epistle 396, pp. 508-509. Cf. also Epistle 407, pp. 542-543. [The text is here omitted.]

In a letter dated Amsterdam, Second Month (April) 11, 1679, Willem Sewel informed John Penington that "the people of Dantzick and Embden continue rigorously to persecute our Friends";¹⁹ but in a letter from Friedrichstadt, dated Fifth Month (July) 23, 1679, Roger Longworth reported that "friends at Dantzick are all at liberty & things are quiet there."²⁰

This interval of quiet could not have been a long one; for when William Gibson was in Rotterdam, in the autumn of 1679, he wrote "A Christian Expostulation with the Magistrates of Dantzick and Schidlith." This was dated "the 10th. of the Eighth Month, N. S., 1679," and denounced specifically the decree of banishment issued by the Danzig Senate in July of that year.²¹

An anonymous pamphlet also bearing the initials *T.L.K.V.G.*, and written perhaps by the Lutheran physician, Tobias Ludwig Kohlhaus, who had turned Quaker, was issued in two editions from an Amsterdam press in 1679. It was written in German and entitled *A Well-meant Writing to Those in Office of Magistrates and Rulers in Dantzic, and Places Adjacent, concerning the Terrible Persecution against Those Conscientious People, who According to the Express Doctrine of the Apostle, Cannot Conform to the World, in Scorn Called Quakers.*²²

The persecution of the Danzig Friends continued for a score of years after 1679, and their need of receiving financial aid from the Dutch and English Friends continued also. The Amsterdam Yearly Meeting's Epistle, dated First Month 11, 1680, makes this plain; and a letter from Pieter Hendricks to

¹⁸ Fox, *Journal* (1694), pp. 594-596.

¹⁹ [See W. I. Hull, *Willem Sewel of Amsterdam* (Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, 1933), p. 44, note 80, for description of book containing letters of Sewel to John Penington.]

²⁰ Pemberton Papers, I, 106. [Cf. *William Penn and the Dutch Quaker Migration*, p. 357.]

²¹ Besse, *Sufferings*, II, 435-439. [The text of the decree was quoted thence in Hull's MS.]

²² [Cf. W. I. Hull, *Benjamin Furly and Quakerism in Rotterdam* (Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, 1941), pp. 123-127, especially note 196.]

Roger Longworth, dated "Amsterdam 4 ye 6/m 1680 H:Acct:"²³ contains the following reference to Danzig: "the magistrates of danzik have threatened friends to put them all together into Bridewell, if they depart not before Easter—but they have got other worke,²⁴ and friends are at peace." The next year, we find "Friends from Dantzic" attending London Yearly Meeting, and returning to Holland with Steven Crisp and Dutch and German Friends.

[From this point on William Hull's MS gives, year by year after 1679, such information as can be gleaned about Danzig Quakerism either from personal letters or from Epistles of London Yearly Meeting or of Amsterdam Quarterly Meeting. The former include letters of Willem Sewel to John Penington (1682, 1684 in a MS volume of Latin letters at Friends' House, London); of Pieter Hendricks to George Fox (1689-1690, A. R. Barclay MSS 140, 141, 142, 144); and of Nicholas Rüst to London Friends (1693, printed in *Jour. Friends' Hist. Soc.*, 7 [1910], 136-138). There was relative freedom from persecution for shorter or longer intervals and consequent variation in the need for financial assistance sent from England via Amsterdam. The number of Friends there, never large, was reported as only twelve in 1688. They were reduced by deaths under persecution in 1693, and by the end of the century were at most only two or three families. In the early 1700's some of the members came to reside in Holland to escape the new outbreak of persecution, some of which was for refusal to bear arms. Michael Mugge who had migrated to Holland returned to Danzig and remained an object of charitable support from London Yearly Meeting, and "the only man in that city that bore a public profession" with Friends until he died in 1720.]

²³ Etting MSS (Misc.), Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Quoted by permission.

²⁴ Probably the defense of the city in the wars between Russia and Sweden.

THE YEARLY MEETINGHOUSE OF MOUNT PLEASANT, OHIO

BY ELLEN STARR BRINTON*

OLD meetinghouses have been a favorite topic for both writers and photographers in England and the United States over many years. Most of them have overlooked the story of a meetinghouse famous not only for its extraordinary size but for its picturesque beginning and the many controversies which have centered around it.

This is the Yearly Meetinghouse at Mount Pleasant, Jefferson County, Ohio. Built during the second decade of the nineteenth century, it was first used in 1815, when Quaker emigration from East and South was in full tide. The village of Mount Pleasant was situated directly in the path of the thousands of Quaker families moving westward. It became the center not only of their religious life but of many activities associated with the social, moral, and political issues of the day.

Still further westward movements of Friends to areas beyond the Mississippi, together with differences of theology, greatly weakened the Society as a whole. The last official gathering of Friends in the Mount Pleasant Yearly Meetinghouse was in 1917. Although local residents tried to preserve the building for sentimental reasons, the task was beyond their means. Decay set in and it was fast going to ruin when the State of Ohio took over the place as an historic monument. Now that restoration is under way and there is prospect of the great building's again being available for public gatherings, it seems only proper to gather here a few of the available bits of history about it. The little that can be found of Mount Pleasant and the great migration of Friends over the mountains must be culled from the terse minutes of the different Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly Meetings and a few letters and journals that have survived two and three generations.

* Ellen Starr Brinton was for many years Curator of the Swarthmore College Peace Collection.

Apparently there is no definite date for the first crossing of the Alleghenies by members of the Society of Friends. Some were settled at Uniontown, Fayette County, Pennsylvania, as early as 1769. In 1776 Hopewell Monthly Meeting, Virginia, reported to its Quarterly Meeting that eighteen families had removed to the Northwest Territory. By 1780 Philadelphia Yearly Meeting had a report from "a committee to visit families west of the mountains," telling of 150 members scattered in various communities. On the eastern seaboard the urge that infected Quaker young people was the lure of cheap land in a new free country; in the South there was added the intense desire to move away from the debilitating influence of slavery.

In New England and the mid-Atlantic states Friends went by groups of two and three families. In the South migration became an organized movement, led by individuals strong in mind and body, guided and directed by Quarterly Meetings, and involving hundreds of families. They sold their lands and surplus personal effects. They settled meeting business in an orderly fashion, sent all local and Monthly Meeting records to the proper Quarterly Meetings, and finally closed the meeting-houses, many of which never opened again.

The continued migration of Friends caused prolonged correspondence and great discussion in Philadelphia and Baltimore Yearly Meetings all through the latter part of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. There was much confusion over formalities as to the laying-down and setting-up of meetings to keep pace with the great movement. A whole group of meetings grew up in southwestern Pennsylvania, and these seem to have been delegated to care for the migrants and to keep their records, Westland, Providence, Redland meetings being the most important. All of these have since disappeared until often not even a trace of building or burial ground can be found. But the records were preserved and from these we can follow today the step-by-step methods by which Friends were advised and assisted in the great trek to new settlements in the territory northwest of the Ohio River. One minute tells of the arrival of a North Carolina meeting "almost in a body, and now sojourners in the vicinity of this Meeting . . . a subject of

such magnitude and importance that we appoint a committee to confer with them."

On the whole, these migrations were highly successful. Undoubtedly there were trials and troubles and personal sorrows, but there is no record of any serious group tragedy en route or after arrival in Ohio. The families had a solid background of culture, education, moral stability, and business common sense, together with a firm religious belief and long training in Friends organization and discipline. All of these went along with them.

They used various kinds of vehicles, including the heavy muslin-covered Conestoga wagons to carry tools needed along the way and to start the new home and farm activities at their destination, and also the necessary cooking and household utensils. They took their cows, oxen, chickens, pigs, and sheep. Every available horse was ridden, but many boys and girls of teen age walked the whole journey. They camped at night in the woods. Essential provisions were carried along—salt, sugar, flour, cured meats—and these were supplemented with game secured along the way. First-day and midweek meetings for worship and the regular business meetings were held as usual, the whole caravan halting and sitting on logs under the trees. Some groups spent five and six months on the way, using the winter period, arriving at the new lands with the warmer weather of spring.

The whole movement westward was so rapid that often settlers had homes started before government surveyors had arrived. As soon as land offices were open, legal titles could be secured. Population increased so fast that in 1803 Ohio was cut off from the Northwest Territory and became a state. In an area west of Wheeling, Virginia (now West Virginia), Friends settled in large numbers and in a short time, there were Preparative and Monthly Meetings. The names were often carried over from the home communities—Flushing, Salem, Concord, Middletown.

By 1804 Concord (Colerain) and Short Creek Meetings (near the village of Mount Pleasant) were exchanging minutes looking towards a new Quarterly Meeting. This had to be car-

ried out through the parent Quarterly Meeting at Redstone, Pennsylvania, and permission had to be secured from Baltimore Yearly Meeting. Representatives visited back and forth over the mountains and finally the request was granted. Then a suitable Quarterly Meetinghouse had to be prepared. Short Creek offered to bear half the cost and the other meetings were to carry the rest. Ground a half mile from Mount Pleasant was selected. A brick house, forty-five by seventy feet and one story high, was built and first used Sixth Month 6, 1807, with a committee from Baltimore in attendance.

The flow of Friends westward continued. It was soon evident that their minds were focused on the need for a Yearly Meeting to tie together the various settlements beyond the Alleghenies. In 1810 when Baltimore Yearly Meeting convened, it was confronted with the proposition of a division of that meeting. The matter was seriously discussed at Philadelphia Yearly Meeting held in Fourth Month, 1812, and a committee was appointed to meet and confer with Baltimore Yearly Meeting, which convened six months later.

Five Quarterly Meetings in Ohio and western Pennsylvania sent twenty-six men on the long journey to Baltimore. The recorded minute shows how the appeal was handled by both men and women's sessions, and how the issue was brought to a happy and peaceful conclusion:

The Quarterly Meetings west of the Allegheny Mountains, within the verge of this Yearly Meeting, be at full liberty to convene together at Short Creek on the third First-Day in the Eighth Month next in the capacity of a Yearly Meeting . . . to send representatives and to forward their contributions and report accordingly.

The new Yearly Meeting "for the State of Ohio, Indiana territory, and adjacent parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia" met in 1813 as allowed and attacked with enthusiasm and energy the many problems that immediately arose. There was not yet time to compose a new book of discipline, so the offer from Baltimore of a hundred printed copies was thankfully accepted. The new treasurer, Enoch Harris, receipted for the sum of \$480 which Baltimore Yearly Meeting felt it right to turn over.

The first annual gathering of western Friends aroused much interest and brought visitors from far and near. Benjamin Kite of Philadelphia—he lived in a little house near Unity Street Meeting, Frankford, and was the first teacher of the school there—received two letters describing the event. John Letchworth, a cabinet-maker of Philadelphia and a traveling minister wrote in Eighth Month 1813:

The Men's Yearly Meeting is held in a shed adjoining the brick house belonging to Short Creek Quarterly meeting, in which Women Friends meet and I understand fill. If thou pictures to thyself one of the sheds of your brick yards, extended to 45 feet one way by 75 the other, with blocks on the ground floor on which rough boards are laid for seats, and midway of the long side a passage from the road two thirds across the shed, at which place there are benches with backs, one of them a little raised above the earthen floor, with the front side of the shed boarded up about three feet high, thou canst have a tolerable idea of the men's apartment. Yet here, Benjamin, even here, business under proper qualifications, can be transacted with propriety. There are now Jesse Kersey, Daniel Haviland, Daniel Quinby and and their two companions Philip Price, Nathan Sharpless and wife, Deborah Stabler, and Sarah Proctor with their companion Caleb Bentley: Jonathan Graves and some others that I do not recollect. For ought I can understand Friends are comfortably accommodated, at least I am at the home of my kind friend Enoch Harris.

John Heald wrote of the solemnity which attended the several sittings, and added:

It is attended by about, I suppose, 2000 Friends, though I am ready to conclude the number was rather less, although some Friends suppose there were 3000.¹

Since the comparatively new house of the Short Creek Quarterly Meeting was wholly inadequate for housing such a large Yearly Meeting, the question of erecting still another building was quickly faced. Twenty-five men were appointed to

¹ These letters are quoted from two manuscript books belonging to Anne Kite of Media, Pennsylvania, great-granddaughter of Benjamin Kite. According to family tradition, her parents, James R. and Ruth M. Kite, wrote these books sometime during the 1880's, copying and editing a great quantity of letters and other papers once belonging to Benjamin Kite. The originals have long since been lost, unless some reader might be able to trace them.

consider further accommodations. Next year, 1815, the Yearly Meeting minutes state:

... the Committee has procured nearly six acres ground adjoining the town of Mt. Pleasant and proceeded to build a house 60x92 feet, two stories high, with youths galleries, the walls to be of brick . . . nearly the whole of the work contracted for and a greater part of the materials ready and are of the mind that provisions will be necessary to meet the expenses.

At a later sitting, a committee on finances suggested a sum of \$8500 "to be apportioned among the Quarterly Meetings and raised as soon as possible and forwarded to the managers."

The five Quarterly Meetings were surveyed as to numbers, and assessments were made somewhat according to the age and strength of the different settlements:

Redstone, supposed to contain 181 families:	\$8 each—	\$1448.00
Short Creek, supposed to contain 410 families:	\$7 each	2870.00
Salem, supposed to contain 292 families:	\$6 each	1752.00
Miami, supposed to contain 452 families:	\$3 each	1356.00
West Branch, supposed to contain 358 families:	\$3 each	1074.00

Total \$8500.00

If more money be needed [the minute went on] same proportion be used and managers be permitted to borrow money if needed if Quarterly Meetings do not raise the money seasonably.

Samuel Jones
Henry Lewis
Abraham Warrington
Elijah Jonston

By the summer of 1815 the Yearly Meetinghouse was far enough along to be used. William Williams writes of it in his *Journal*:

First-day, 20th of Eighth month. Two large meetings for worship were held in the new meeting house in Mount-pleasant. These meetings were so large that I thought they were not so satisfactory as smaller meetings would have been . . . it was thought above fifteen hundred people attended, and but few of them, comparatively speaking, were, or could be active members; the rest sat, and looked on, and many of them could not hear what was going on in the meeting.²

² *Journal of the Life, Travels, and Gospel Labours of William Williams* (Cincinnati, 1828), pp. 177-78.

The minutes of 1815 reported that "the Quarterly Meetings as feared were deficient to the amount of \$3500 and furthermore debts contracted for amounted to \$10,215. It was proposed to raise \$2500 more than was first suggested and voluntarily \$1000 was subscribed immediately."

Finances continued to be a problem for several years. In 1816 "The Quarterly Meetings were still deficient and \$1500 was still to be raised by subscription." At the Yearly Meeting of 1817, the accounts of the managers were reported" examined and receipts produced, with the total expenses to date of \$12,345.52." In 1818 a sum of \$400 was reported as urgently needed. This was borrowed from Yearly Meeting funds and the building account was closed.

It was a stately and spacious building. The community looked on it with admiration. Despite what William Williams wrote, speakers from the front benches could be heard easily. One hundred years later, Billy Sunday held one of his famous meetings in the building and spoke with appreciation of the excellent acoustics.

The Yearly Meetings were scheduled for summer, when daylight lingered long, but candle sconces of tin hung on the walls and were used on dull days. Evening sessions were not held until many years later. What about winter? There was not even a fireplace! Must use be limited always to warm weather? A Minute was made in 1816: "Short Creek Meeting contemplates making some further provision at the Yearly Meeting House for the accommodation of that Meeting in cold season—which privileges are granted." The architect-builder, Jacob Ong, a member of one of the local meetings, evidently took appropriate measures, for the two big chimneys have smokepipe holes, apparently for using two or more of the newly-introduced heating stoves.

The brick was made from clay dug near Mount Pleasant. One of the workmen managed to get an unburned brick, and, after inscribing a message, imbedded it on the north wall. Today, with a bit of imagination one can read:

--n Bye junior Brick maker Mountpleasant
Jefferson County Ohio The year of
our Lord 1814 the 22nd year of his age

The roof was of handmade shingles. A wide overhanging cornice helped to soften the bare walls. Many windows on the first floor and on the second-story balcony gave light and air when needed; they had heavy wooden shutters as protection when the building was idle. A broad ridge of brick went round the building just above the stone foundation. Called a "water table," it served to divert rain water from the lower walls and protected the base of the building.

All the inside was made from wood from the local forests: posts of tulip poplar, hand-turned and set on great square blocks of wood, the floor of oak, the paneling and long plain benches of pine. The feature which catches the visitor's eye today is the huge partition, which divides the interior into two equal parts for men and women's business meetings. Stretching the full sixty feet across the building and reaching from floor to ceiling, the partition is beautifully paneled and divided into hinged longitudinal sections. Up in the attic is a great wooden axle, turned with a winch, which lifted the partition and folded it around the axle. It took four men to operate the winch.

There were no vestibules, indoor rest rooms, committee rooms, or children's rooms; no library, kitchen, or dining room, such as are now expected at meeting centers, although Ohio Yearly Meeting had numbers which would dwarf many Yearly Meetings of the present day. The 1700 families listed are supposed to have averaged at least five individuals—a total of 8500 members, and two-thirds of these were certainly children.

The question of a boarding school came up in the second session of the Yearly Meeting at Mount Pleasant in 1814. A committee was named to solicit funds, but little happened until after the death of Thomas Rotch in 1824. He left \$5000 for a boarding school. A new committee gradually accumulated more money. Some aid came from English and Irish Friends, but it was First Month, 1837 before the school actually opened. It was located on a tract of sixty-four acres on a slight eminence above the Yearly Meetinghouse and within a short walking distance. It was three stories high with two wings of two stories each, for the boys and girls, who were kept quite separate from each other as recommended by the school planning committee

in 1832. The enrollment the first year totaled 120. Board and tuition was fixed at \$68 per year for two terms of twenty-four weeks each. The finished school building proved a great asset at Yearly Meeting time. By crowding the "scholars" together, it was possible to give hospitality to ministers and elders and distant guests. The school building was destroyed by fire in 1876 and never rebuilt.

Theological controversies among Friends seemed to affect Ohio more than any other regions. A separation took place in 1828 and another in 1854. For a while three groups—all bearing the name "Ohio Yearly Meeting"—met in the Yearly Meetinghouse at Mount Pleasant at different times. After a long-drawn-out lawsuit, the State Supreme Court ruled in 1874 that the "Gurneyites" (Evangelical Friends) had legal right to the school property, and the pupils and teachers then in session moved out. A new boarding school was built at Barnesville and opened on New Years Day, 1876. In 1878 a brick meetinghouse was erected at Barnesville (Stillwater Meeting) and here the Conservative Friends of Ohio (Wilburites) have since held their Yearly Meetings. The Hicksite Yearly Meeting, established in 1828, was laid down in 1921; at that time its interest in the Yearly Meetinghouse was deeded to the Evangelical Friends who now meet at Damascus, Ohio.

The village of Mount Pleasant is described by the state historical authorities as "one of three architectural gems of Ohio." The main street winds briefly along a ridge of hills. Between the quaint old brick houses—none of which look younger than a hundred years—one can look far off into a rich farming area. Fortunately, the terrible gashes of modern strip coal mining which plagues that part of the state are not visible. Garages and filling stations are found on the outskirts, but not a movie, a neon light, or a street sign mars the peaceful atmosphere of the town. Tall trees shade the brick sidewalks and wide grass borders. The recent census counted 780 residents, and the meager historical resources available suggest that even at the height of its activity in the 1830's the population was probably not over 500 persons.

The town was never touched by a railroad.³ The National Road (U. S. Route 40), which opened in 1818, however, was only ten miles away. Local produce could be conveyed by wagon to the Ohio River and hence up to Pittsburgh and overland to Philadelphia, or down to New Orleans and England. The town was the center of the pork and bacon trade for the Ohio valley; there were also salt works, three woolen mills, a harness shop, a cabinet shop, and two general stores. In the 1840's Mount Pleasant had the first silk mill in America weaving native silk; this industry flourished until the 1850's, when it was moved to Wheeling.

The fame of Mount Pleasant, however, rests more on its interest in social reforms than on its industry. Three men—all Quakers—should be given credit: Charles Osborn, Benjamin Lundy, and Elisha Bates. All took an active part in arousing Friends to the evils of slavery by means of books and periodicals issued from a local printing press.⁴ One of the earliest Underground Railway stations was set up in Mount Pleasant. The first anti-slavery paper was published there—Charles Osborn's *Philanthropist*. In pre-Civil War days there was a "Free Labor Store," in which nothing produced by slave labor was handled; the building is still standing.

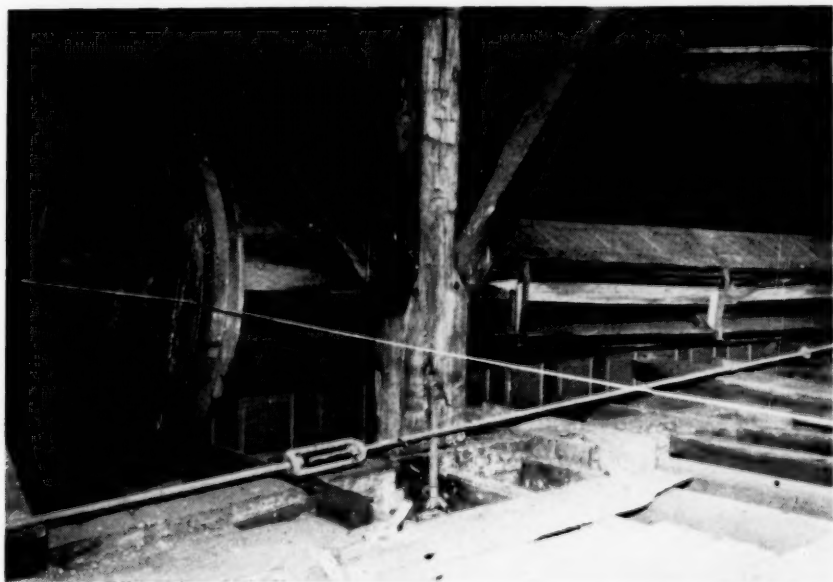
The story of the restoration of the Yearly Meetinghouse would make a chapter of itself. As early at 1935, Ohio Yearly

³ Where stagecoaches once served, there are now buses several times a day from Martins Ferry and Steubenville. Stop in Wheeling, the nearest city, and ask the best route by automobile, and the answer probably will be "straight ahead to the top of the hill." Unless warned, visitors may be considerably disconcerted. Twelve miles of tortuous, twisting road lie ahead, with constant steep grades. Locally, the story was that "the horse must start uphill while the carriage is still coming down."

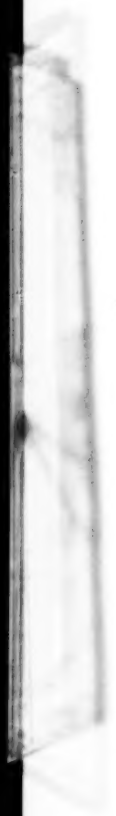
⁴ See Robert J. Leach, "Elisha Bates and the Mount Pleasant Printing Press, 1817-1827," BULLETIN OF FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, 29 (1940), 17-29. Printed matter with the Mount Pleasant imprint is extremely scarce. There seem to be no full runs remaining of any of the several papers issued on the questions of slavery, woman's rights, and other causes. The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, which is studying the history of both the town and the meeting-house, plan to establish a museum room, in which it is hoped that eventually copies may be secured, both for exhibition and for reading, of everything ever published and printed in Mount Pleasant.



Mount Pleasant Yearly Meetinghouse as it appeared before restoration was started.



The attic, showing part of the unusual mechanism, all made of wood, used to lift the great dividing partition.



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Meeting of the Friends Church (Damascus), owners of the property, brought up the question of State aid and appointed a committee to consider the matter, with Lewis Lupton as chairman of finance. His death in 1940 and the outbreak of World War II retarded all activities. In 1948 a community meeting was held in Mount Pleasant with representatives from three counties. The result was the formation of an "Historical Society of Mount Pleasant." This committee searched out historical information, issued publicity, and in 1949 printed an illustrated folder. Two committee hearings at the State Capitol in Columbus were attended by Mount Pleasant citizens, carloads of men and women making the 135-mile journey, staying for night legislative sessions, and then driving home again. These efforts were successful. The Ohio State Legislature accepted the lot and the building as a gift, appropriated \$50,000 for reconstruction, and placed it under the care of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. Architects, historians, and engineers are at work. Expert craftsmen in and out of the state are repairing masonry, replacing weak timbers, and copying old metal hardware and ornaments. When the work is finished, the appearance of the building, inside and out, will be as nearly as possible like that of 1815. The grounds will be fenced, modern rest rooms installed, and a caretaker put in charge. Barring a fire or tornado the building should last for many generations to come.⁵

In Mount Pleasant there is now a modern Friends Church. Within a radius of some fifteen miles are Friends meetings at Harrisville, Smithfield, Georgetown, and East Richland.⁶ The Stillwater Meeting at Barnesville is only about thirty miles away. It would seem that there are enough interested Friends in the vicinity so that a national or even an international gathering of Friends of all branches in the old Yearly Meetinghouse might be considered practical.

⁵ Further information regarding restoration plans and future activities can be secured from Miss Elisabeth Lupton, Mount Pleasant, Ohio, and from Mr. Richard S. Fatig, Curator of the Division of State Memorials, Ohio State Museum, Columbus, Ohio.

⁶ There are no Hicksite meetings nearby at present, but an old Hicksite Meetinghouse stands west of Mount Pleasant near Emerson, and burials are still made in the cemetery adjoining.

THE FOUNDING OF WHITTIER COLLEGE

BY HARRY W. NERHOOD*

ON December 24, 1887, the first issue of the Whittier (California) Graphic appeared. In this first issue it was stated that "the Pickering Land and Water Company have set apart twenty acres of land to be donated to a college. This land is now worth at least \$25,000, and is rapidly increasing in value. It is believed that at least \$100,000, or perhaps \$200,000 can be raised here for the purpose of endowing a college. The Quakers are looking for a good location for a college, and we think Whittier will secure the prise." The editors of the first newspaper of this little California boom town were correct in their prophecy. Whittier did secure the "prise," but not until after a decade of struggle and sacrifice, then half a century of slow but steady growth.

It is a far cry from Professor John Chawner's trade of five volumes of *Johnson's Encyclopedia* for two shares of stock in the Whittier Educational Association in 1891¹ to the sixty thousand books and 225 annually-received periodicals in the Whittier College Library of today; from the 1892 advertisement in the Whittier *Register* asking the question "Do you want an education?" and answering it by notifying the public of the "Literary Department under efficient management of Professor John Chawner, A. M. of Penn College, Iowa, and Dr. W. V. Coffin, A. B.," with drawing, painting, and music taught by Miss Mary Trueblood and Miss Ella Stalker (daughter of the Methodist minister)² to the annual catalog of 1952 listing a faculty of seventy and hundreds of courses in all fields of learning; from the rental of fifteen boarding rooms at \$18.00 per month in a Whittier business building³ to the present campus with thirty buildings, including eight dormitories; from the treasurer's annual report of 1894, showing receipts of \$7019.47

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¹ Whittier Educational Association, MS Minutes, August 10, 1891 (hereafter cited as WEA). This is one of the principal source documents for the early history of Whittier College.

² Whittier *Register*, February 4, 1892.

³ WEA, September 1, 1892.

and expenditures of \$6927.84⁴ to the present million-dollar budget of Whittier College; from the report of Principal John Woody of Whittier Academy for 1894-5 in which he states that "ninety-five pupils have been in attendance during the year, of whom 75 are members of the Friends Church"⁵ to the 1950-51 enrollment summary of Whittier College, which shows a grand total registration of 3,898, including regular semesters, summer school, and extended day.

Yes, it is a far cry from May 3, 1887, when Acquilla Pickering purchased the acreage for a townsite in Southern California "for the purpose of locating a colony of Orthodox Friends,"⁶ where two months later, on July 19, the first Quakers "reached the colony of their dreams."⁷ By November of the same year there were 700 people in Whittier, two hundred of whom were Quakers. The first issue of the town's first newspaper stated that Whittier was "a proper location for a Yearly Meeting, a Quarterly Meeting, and a Friends' College."⁸ A Friends Monthly Meeting, had been organized in Whittier in early December, "with Cyrus Lindley as temporary clerk, and already there were plans for setting up a Quaker institution of learning." Did not the Queries of the Friends' Discipline ask what provisions were being made for the education of the young?

In the January 19, 1888, issue of the *Whittier Graphic* an item appeared telling of the incorporation of a Friends College of Whittier, to be "a school for both sexes." The same issue and two issues following called for a giant meeting to be held at the Friends Church to raise funds for the new school.⁹ Before this public meeting, the new Board of Trustees of the projected Friends College met on January 30, electing as officers: S. D. Coffin, President; Charley Reynolds, first Vice-President; Elias Jessup, second Vice-President; Willet Dorland, Secretary; C. C.

⁴ WEA, June 4, 1894.

⁵ WEA, June 3, 1895.

⁶ *Whittier News*, May 11, 1920.

⁷ W. W. Robinson, *Whittier: A Calendar of Events in the Making of a City* (Los Angeles, 1942), pp. 14-15.

⁸ *Whittier Graphic*, December 24, 1887.

⁹ *Ibid.*, January 19, January 26, February 2, 1888.

Dixon, Assistant Secretary; T. E. Newlin, Treasurer; and Hervey Lindley, Financial Agent.¹⁰ With the addition of Washington Hadley and Lindley Baldwin and their wives, C. J. Cook, and Dr. W. V. Coffin, we have the basic group which carried on the work of the academy period. One must not forget the work of Lydia Jackson, who was perhaps more responsible than any other person for raising tuition money in the nineties.

The *Graphic* was lyrical in its report of the January 30 meeting, stating: "The College Meeting a Success. \$25,000 Unconditionally Subscribed and \$50,000 Conditional." The prospects were summed up in this fashion: 20 acres of land worth \$25,000, subscription \$25,000, conditional subscription \$25,000, conditional endowment \$25,000—total \$100,000.¹¹ After the February 6 meeting the *Graphic* summed it up as follows: "A College Sure! Whittier to Be an Educational Center. \$137,000 Subscribed and More Promised. \$150,000 Almost Certain."¹²

In rapid succession high hopes were reported in the local newspaper. Work commenced on College Hill, with seventy-five lots reported sold at good prices.¹³ A contract for a \$50,000 building was let and a cut of the proposed college building appeared in the *Graphic* for May 10 with a listing of "Friends College" officers.¹⁴ Work on the building was planned to begin September 1, 1888, to be completed by May 1, 1889.¹⁵ On June 16, 1888, Reverend R. H. Hartley was chosen as President of the Faculty by the Board of Trustees and was authorized to attend an educational conference to be held at

¹⁰ Another source document for the history of Whittier College is the journal of minutes given to the College by Mrs. Lindley Baldwin. These minutes describe the work of the Board of Trustees of Friends' College in 1888. They will be cited hereafter as BJ.

¹¹ Whittier *Graphic*, February 2, 1888.

¹² Ibid., February 9, 1888.

¹³ Ibid., March 22, 1888.

¹⁴ Ibid., May 3, 1888, May 10, 1888. The officers elected were Hervey Lindley, President; Elias Jessup, First Vice-President; C. C. Reynolds, Second Vice-President; Willet Dorland, Secretary; T. E. Newlin, Treasurer, and Dr. C. R. Dixon, Assistant Secretary.

¹⁵ Whittier *Graphic*, May 17, 1888.

Haverford, Pennsylvania, in July.¹⁶ At the last reported Board meeting, August 2, the Reverend Mr. Hartley reported on his visit to the East.¹⁷ Then—silence! No further items appeared in the *Graphic*.

In order to understand the background of the items reported in the newspaper, one must examine the interesting journal found in the effects of Lindley M. Baldwin, a journal of minutes taken at the 1888 meetings of the "Board of Trustees of Friends' College."¹⁸ The first entry was made on January 30, 1888 and the final one on August 2, 1888. Between these two dates is a microcosm of the larger struggles with which subsequent Boards of Trustees were to meet. The account of the meetings of these dedicated and inspired men and women will serve as a pattern for the sixty years to follow.

The first minutes in the Baldwin Journal record a "called meeting" and speak of ratifying the proceedings of an earlier meeting held "the 19th of 2nd mo. last" where no quorum was present.¹⁹ This must be an error unless the meeting was held in some other place than Whittier for the town did not exist on February 19, 1887. Perhaps it refers to the nineteenth day of December, 1887 or January, 1888. Regardless of its meaning, it indicates that serious thought had been going on among leaders in the Friends community about an institution of higher learning. Eight members were present, of whom one was a woman (Esther Hiatt), and three items of business were concluded: (1) the Board pledged itself to underwrite the cost of all furnishings; (2) officers were elected (four of the elected officers were not present—President and Financial Secretary!); and (3) strategy for the planned public meeting that evening was discussed. At the next meeting an architect was appointed to plan college buildings, his compensation not to exceed three percent of the gross cost. Plans were made to sell lots, with all proceeds over a certain amount to go into the college fund. It was decided to inform the Pasadena Quarterly Meeting of

¹⁶ BJ, June 16, 1888.

¹⁷ BJ, August 2, 1888.

¹⁸ See note 10.

¹⁹ BJ, January 30, 1888.

Friends about the proceedings and encourage them to assist in financing the college.²⁰

A week later a move was made to insure control of the future college by the Society of Friends. In the report to the Pasadena Quarterly Meeting it was proposed that the charter be changed to require two-thirds of the membership of the Board to be Friends and, to "establish an organizational connection with the Society of Friends, Pasadena is to appoint two members to the Board with a three year service." It was also requested of the Pasadena Quarterly Meeting that it recognize "the college at Whittier, California, as Friends College of the Pacific coast."²¹

Two months went by without a meeting. Then, on April 13, 1888, the Board recommended the purchase of bricks for the building and the President, S. D. Coffin, offered the following resolution to be discussed at the June meeting: 'Whereas Hervey Lindley, one of the Board of Trustees of Friends College at Whittier has, by his untiring efforts, and unbounded generosity been instrumental in the founding of said college, and whereas said Hervey Lindley has done more than any other person in placing said institution on the road to its assured future prosperity, be it, and it is hereby resolved, That the college forever bear the name of 'The Hervey Lindley College' in place and instead of the name said college now bears—to wit, 'The Friends College.' "²² There is no other mention in the minutes as to what happened to this resolution.

In early May a resolution was adopted at the Board Meeting to issue bonds at a low rate of interest to raise money for the college. This is interesting because the organization which finally brought about Whittier College was a joint-stock company. Also, at this time, a committee was appointed to close the contract for erecting the first main building.²³ Two weeks later the Board adopted a resolution by a vote of eight to six to close the building contract and pay expenses out of corporation assets (which were practically nil at this time). However, considerable opposition to the idealists must have been developing within

²⁰ BJ, February 14, 1888.

²¹ BJ, February 20, 1888.

²² BJ, April 13, 1888.

²³ BJ, May 4, 1888.

the body, for after voting a reconsideration of the contract resolution the Board decided to give the financial agent two weeks to get things into shape. Obviously this move grew out of letters of protest and resignation by one of the members, T. E. Newlin. In these letters he protested against any "further proceeding being taken in the matter of construction of the building known as the Friends' College at Whittier, Los Angeles County, California, or for the construction and erection of said building until my resignation as a Trustee of said Friends College has been accepted by the Board of Trustees thereof."²⁴

Nothing was said about Newlin's protest and resignation in the May 25 meeting, at which time a committee was appointed to correspond with college professors about salaries and with landlords about renting suitable rooms to open classes in the fall of 1888.²⁵ The rebellion led by Newlin was not referred to in the minutes of the meeting on June 16. It was at this time that Reverend R. H. Hartley, President of the Faculty elect, received his commission to visit the eastern educational conference. The last recorded meeting of the Board was held on August 2. In addition to hearing President Hartley's "interesting report"—about which no details are given—the Board authorized the secretary to borrow money to liquidate the present indebtedness. All property now held by the corporation was to be "returned" to as good advantage as possible. The meeting was adjourned to meet August 17, 1888.

Ten meetings had been held and the interested Quakers and others had gone through all the motions of incorporation, election of officers, and planning for construction. Many factors had defeated their efforts. There is a hint of internal dissension in Newlin's protest and resignation. Apparently the Quakers determined to build a college did not have enough following to back them up in their plans. And, last but hardly least, the California land boom had come to an end. Sheer nerve was not sufficient to carry out plans, no matter how worthy, to completion.

²⁴ BJ, May 16, 1888.

²⁵ BJ, May 23, 1888.

²⁶ BJ, August 2, 1888.

In his history of Whittier College Dr. Herbert Harris says that "fourteen years, 1888 to 1902, were to drag out before Whittier College received its state charter. There were to be sacrificial attempts to get it under way, and heartbreaking failures, but never was the purpose forgotten."²⁷ These few sentences are an exact outline of the years which were to follow the failure of the first Board of Trustees to establish a Friends College. In the fourteen years three academies were to be organized, two of which were to fail before the third finally evolved into Whittier College.

The Whittier Friends could not rest long without some type of "select" school for their children. Therefore, when the Pickering Land and Water Company²⁸ offered a building and furnishings free of rent, the offer was accepted and thirteen students went to school for several months under the guidance of Clayton Nordyke and Ella Veeder. At the rate of nine dollars per pupil, the returns were a little on the meagre side, even for those times, and the school closed its doors in the fall of 1888. The class of 1888 was small but two of its members are to be remembered: Lou Henry later became Mrs. Herbert Hoover and did much for Whittier College (the Social Sciences building has been named in her honor) and Mary Dell Coryell became the first student to receive a diploma from the newly-chartered Whittier College graduating class in 1904.

A substantial two-story public elementary school was erected in Whittier in 1889 (Bailey Street) and the third attempt the Friends made to establish a school was the second academy on the upper story of the Bailey school under the principalship of C. Bevan Johnson. This second academy was

²⁷ *The Quaker and the West: The First Sixty Years of Whittier College* (Whittier, California, 1948), p. 23. Dr. Harris, longtime resident of Whittier and associated with the College since 1901, has placed Whittier College and all future historians of the institution in his debt for this factual and interpretative account.

²⁸ No history of Whittier, California will ever be written without much attention being given to the activities of the Pickering Land and Water Company. It founded the town in a sense, and in the years before World War I its numerous benefactions in the form of land gifts brought most Whittier institutions, educational and religious, into its debt.

the result of a resolution adopted at the April 13, 1889, Whittier Monthly Meeting, which proposed a committee of four "for the purpose of devising and proposing plans to a future session, for the organization of a Friends school for higher education at Whittier. . . ." ²⁹ At the end of a year some forty-five students had been instructed, the teachers having been paid largely on faith, for Whittier was still in the slough of depression. By 1890 Bailey School needed all its facilities, so the Friends moved out and planning began for another school in other quarters. ³⁰

There can be little doubt that there is truth in the motto: "If the first time you don't succeed, try, try again." Certainly it worked out in the case of the Quakers and Whittier College. Two academies and one Board of Trustees had appeared for a short time and finally given up. But the organization which was established on May 23, 1891, carried on the foundation work from which a college finally resulted. On that memorable day a group of interested citizens met in the offices of the ubiquitous Pickering Land and Water Company. Five names are mentioned in the minutes: Washington Hadley, who became President of the newly formed Whittier Educational Association; J. C. Hiatt, who was elected Secretary; Dr. W. V. Coffin, who had recently moved in from the east; T. E. Newlin, who had been on the first Board of Trustees of Friends College, and Thomas Armstrong. On Dr. Coffin's suggestion a committee was appointed to get legal advice on how to organize a joint stock company. ³¹

Thus a beginning, or renaissance, was made. In subsequent meetings a capital stock of \$20,000 at \$10 a share was decided upon. ³² By June 19 fourteen shares had been subscribed and plans were underway to canvass the territory around

²⁹ *History of Whittier*, ed. Benjamin F. Arnold and Artilissa Dorland Clark (Whittier, California, 1933), p. 51 (hereafter cited as Arnold and Clark).

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

³¹ WEA, May 23, 1891.

³² Dr. Harris says: "A minute examination of the records does not discover any declared dividends—nor even the return of the principal." *The Quaker and the West*, p. 27.

Whittier.³³ At the June 29 meeting the first Board of Trustees of the Whittier Educational Association was elected³⁴ and by July 6 the articles of incorporation had been signed. The new organization was now ready to go about its work, a task which was to end almost exactly eleven years later with the conveyance of its property to Whittier College, a California state corporation.³⁵

In the weeks that followed, boarding rooms were rented, a prospectus was written and published, and an offer from the Pickering Land and Water Company was received to use the Reynolds building for classrooms. The offer of the company was accepted, two years rent free with three more on option, and equipment was authorized for purchase. All in all, a total debt of \$338.05 was accumulated for 60 desks, 12 chairs, 3 tables, a stove, articles of incorporation, and other miscellany.

The school opened on September 23, 1891, with Dr. W. V. Coffin as Principal and Professor John Chawner as assistant. As the term progressed, Mary Trueblood was added as art instructor and Ella Stalker taught music.³⁶ An event important enough to be noted in the Whittier Educational Association minutes was the addition of a copy of Rand and McNally's *Atlas of the World* to the library.³⁷ In June, 1892 the first annual meeting of stockholders was held in the Academy building where the treasurer's report was heard and a report to the stockholders was made.³⁸ These reports are not in the minutes but they must not have been too disheartening for the school opened its second term in September—the first attempt to succeed in running two consecutive years. The opening enrollment passed fifty and another twenty-five were added in succeeding weeks.³⁹

³³ WEA, June 19, 1891.

³⁴ The first Board of Trustees was made up of Dr. C. J. Cook, Dr. W. V. Coffin, U. D. Ellis, Lydia Jackson, Lydia Jenkins, Thomas Armstrong, T. E. Newlin, J. C. Hiatt, and A. J. Coryell. WEA, June 29, 1891.

³⁵ WEA, June 16, 1902.

³⁶ Arnold and Clark, p. 53.

³⁷ WEA, February 21, 1892.

³⁸ WEA, June 2, 1892.

³⁹ Arnold and Clark, p. 53.

This second year the Whittier Academy had quite an academic appearance. Dr. Coffin did triple duty as principal and teacher of Mathematics and Chemistry; Professor Chawner taught Latin and History; Alice Miller taught Music and Elocution; Ella Stalker instructed in Music; Emma V. Hadley was in charge of calisthenics; Mary Trueblood gave instruction in painting and drawing, and stenographic work was done by Grace Barnes. A few months after the term had begun, a Biblical department was added with Thomas Armstrong as instructor. The students even put out a class book, the *Athenaeum*.⁴⁰ Student discipline reared its ugly head in an economic fashion. At a meeting of the Board on March 16, 1893, two members were appointed to collect unpaid rent from Robert Hiatt or have him "vacate the rooms immediately."⁴¹ It is good to know that the matter was settled amicably with his promise to settle for \$10 back rent and \$4.50 per month in the future.⁴² The big fly in the ointment was the scarcity of money for salaries and equipment.⁴³

The Trustees were not satisfied to remain in the rent-free Reynolds building, and at a regular meeting on February 16, 1893, a motion was made and carried to raise funds to build a college building. The pattern of the past was repeating itself, but conditions were more propitious for success. Business in southern California had taken an upswing for the better and the number of Friends in the area was slowly increasing. As in the past, a public meeting was planned to bring the matter forward and raise funds.⁴⁴ An offer was made by a local hotel owner to sell his hotel and ten acres of land for \$10,000 but this offer was turned down and a resolution was adopted to

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ WEA, March 16, 1893.

⁴² WEA, March 25, 1893.

⁴³ Recently the writer of this paper paid a visit to John J. Jessup, who is still living in full strength and vigor in Los Angeles. In the course of the interview (which is tape-recorded), the question came up of how the instructors lived between payments on their salaries. Mr. Jessup settled the matter quickly by answering that they "just lived." Personally, this writer would like to know the secret—it might be useful in these times.

⁴⁴ WEA, March 6, 1893.

"endeavor to have erected within eight months, a building for college purposes to cost not less than \$6,000" on land to be deeded from the Pickering Land and Water Company to the Board for college grounds.⁴⁵ Jesse Hunnicut was appointed to collect subscriptions for the building, and throughout the summer and during the next fall, contracts were signed. The first building, Founder's Hall, of the present college, was erected largely on faith so far as money to pay bills was concerned and on the backs of Whittier Friends who quarried the stone for the foundation, transported it, and then helped to lay it. The first stone was quarried on August 15, 1893, and the Spring term of the Academy opened on the finished lower floor of Founder's on March 28, 1894.⁴⁶ The dreams of 1887-88 had become a reality, the Friends now had a school of their own on their own property. It was now a matter of raising money to equip and run it,⁴⁷ a matter which was to become of increasing concern as the nineties moved along to a new century.

In the meantime Dr. Coffin had been guaranteed seventy-five students for the year 1893-94 and the wave of the future had been recognized with the appointment of B. M. Davis to the chair of natural sciences.⁴⁸ It is recorded that "college colors were chosen, purple and gold, also a 'yell.'"⁴⁹ At the stockholders' meeting on June 4, 1894, the Board reported that "a proposition had been made by the board of trustees to a committee appointed by the Quarterly Meeting to ascertain what could be done in the way of securing a place for the Yearly Meeting to be opened in Whittier in 1895. That if Friends in California would furnish the Assembly Hall in the College Building and in addition to furnishing the Hall to pay \$600, the expenses incurred in furnishing the landing hall and putting in the stairs, they could have the use of the building for Yearly Meeting purposes. Same was satisfactory to stockholders." At

⁴⁵ WEA, March 25, April 24, 1893.

⁴⁶ Harris, p. 32.

⁴⁷ In 1894 the salaries, guaranteed and somehow paid, were: Dr. W. V. Coffin, \$1000; Professor Davis, \$850; and Professor Chawner, \$600. WEA, August 22, 1894.

⁴⁸ WEA, June 15, August 1, 1893.

⁴⁹ Arnold and Clark, p. 54.

the same meeting Lydia Jackson was employed to secure tuition for Friends' children. The work she began continued throughout the decade and very seldom did any child of a Quaker family pay full or partial tuition. Usually a big rally was staged at the end of each school year at the Yearly Meeting and in this way tuition funds were raised.

In 1894 Dr. Coffin resigned and was replaced by Professor John Woody as Principal. In his annual report to the stockholders in June, 1895, Professor Woody said: "In looking over the work of the Academy for the year now past, we see much to encourage us. The interested co-operation of teachers and students has been a marked feature in the school and has contributed to the good order and high spirit of work which has prevailed during the year. The religious tone of the school has been good. The Y.M.C.A. among the young men, and the Y.W.C.A. among the young women, have proved most excellent means of Christian culture and have been wholesome influences in the school. The Department in Bible study has been maintained in which a large class has been engaged in the study of the Bible and Bible history. It is hoped that a permanent department in Biblical studies may be established and placed in charge of a consecrated specialist, and that Bible study may be one of the distinctive features of the Academy. Classics have also been maintained with interest in the departments of music and art.

"Through the liberality of interested friends valuable additions have been made to the library, consisting of encyclopedias and valuable works on Biography and history and in social and religious subjects, yet the library is not yet sufficient to meet the demands of the school. Ninety-five pupils have been in attendance during the year, of whom 75 are members of the Friends Church. The establishment of California Yearly Meeting makes Whittier Academy a necessity. It is hoped that the school may have the united support of the membership and that in return it may be a valuable means of advancing the interests of the Church through its work of right training and the inculcation of the doctrines of sound Quakerism."⁵⁰

⁵⁰ WEA, June 3, 1895.

Modern governments spend most of their time in raising money and finding ways to spend it and the Board of Trustees of the Whittier Academy had much in common with the first of these two occupations—raising money. Ways of spending money after it was raised never seemed to require much thought, for the demands were constant. In June, 1895, it was recommended that Professor Davis be paid the remainder of the “chair fund” and additional funds be borrowed to pay the balance of his “sallery.”⁵¹ In September of the same year, it was still a matter of speculation as to whether the Academy would open for a Fall term but at the September 16 meeting the President of the Board (I. H. Cammack) reported “after having made the canvas ordered at last meeting that the funds are available for carrying on the school the coming year” and “by motion he is authorized to notify the Faculty elect that their services will be needed.” The Faculty elect included John Chawner at \$700; Susan H. Johnson at \$600; Anna Moore at \$500, and Susie Belt and Ruth Trueblood, no salary pledged.⁵² In November, 1895, the Board was notified that an eastern Quaker had left \$1000 “for the benefit of Whittier College.”⁵³ This was the first time the name Whittier College had been used in the minutes. On April 10, 1896, a reference was made to the use of the “College Hall” and in July, 1896, the name became officially Whittier College. However, only the first two years of college were offered and the Preparatory School continued until 1913, operating within the college framework after it was chartered in 1902.

In February, 1896, the following resolution was adopted by the Trustees: “Resolved: That the President and Secretary of the Whittier Educational Association, a corporation be and they are hereby authorized, empowered and directed, in lieu of certain expenditures made and assumed by the said California Yearly Meeting of Friends Church . . . to convey by proper deed to said California Yearly Meeting of Friends Church, an undivided one-fourth interest in the following described real

⁵¹ WEA, June 29, 1895.

⁵² WEA, September 9, 1895.

⁵³ WEA, November 17, 1895.

estate. . . the said property hereby conveyed being the property now occupied by the said Whittier Educational Association as a schoolhouse and grounds . . ."⁵⁴ Thus the process was begun which finally resulted in all Whittier Educational Association assets and liabilities being taken over by the California Yearly Meeting of Friends in 1900.

In 1896 John J. Jessup, who had been teaching at Pacific College, Oregon, became Principal of the Academy and remained until it became Whittier College. For four years the struggle for finances and students continued with frequent public meetings, yearly meeting rallies, and pleas to the eastern meetings for help. In 1897 I. H. Cammack said that "our faith has not wavered in the conviction that California Yearly Meeting needs and must have the advantages offered by Whittier College. . . ." Principal Jessup reported that enrollment for Fall term was forty, for Winter was thirty-four and for Spring was twenty-seven, with the majority in the Preparatory Department. Only three full college students were listed, with several bridging the Preparatory and College courses. As befitted a Quaker college, Professor Jessup reported the internal workings as "harmonious and satisfactory." The Collector reported an indebtedness of \$709.88 and a motion was made to ask the California Yearly Meeting for an appropriation of \$1000.⁵⁵ In 1898 the debt was \$639.75 which led the President of the Board, Dr. C. J. Cook, to ask serious questions about the advisability of continuing the college.⁵⁶ Apparently his questions were taken to be rhetorical for Faculty were hired for the next year.

At the annual meeting of stockholders in 1899, the Trustees passed a resolution which expressed appreciation for the work of John J. Jessup, Susan Johnson, and Anna Moore and rehired them. The same resolution created a President of the Faculty and offered the position to Reverend Andrew F. Mitchell.⁵⁷ A later meeting reported that Jessup and Johnson had accepted but no answers had been received from Mitchell and Moore.

⁵⁴ WEA, February 21, 1896.

⁵⁵ WEA, June 7, 1897.

⁵⁶ WEA, June 6, 1898.

⁵⁷ WEA, June 21, 1899.

At this time Professor Jessup was instructed to prepare a four-year course of study and a circular for advertising purposes.⁵⁸

The burden of deficit financing was apparently getting the members of the Board down, for in 1900 meeting after meeting had to be adjourned because no quorum was present. At a special meeting in June, 1900, Professor Jessup reported "the best year since 1896" with improvements in all departments, including a library of 1000 volumes. The State of California's education division had examined the school and the Whittier College Preparatory School was now accredited. Even finances seemed better with a slight balance in the black.⁵⁹ However, at a regular meeting of the Board three days later the machinery was set in motion to offer Whittier College to the California Yearly Meeting. In part, the offer read: "In order that Whittier College may be more intimately connected with the church in its organization and management . . . Trustees of the Whittier Educational Association would respectfully tender to California Yearly Meeting all its property, land, buildings, fixtures, and appliances . . . a school creditable to the church as an institution of learning."⁶⁰

No other meetings of the Trustees are recorded until two years later, when the following resolution was adopted at a regular meeting of the Board: "Whereas, It appears to be for the best interests of Whittier College and of all persons interested therein, that said college and property be transferred to another corporation organized under the laws of the State of California providing for educational institutions; and Whereas, A corporation under the name of Whittier College has been organized for the purpose of receiving the title of said property and conducting said educational institution; and Whereas all of the debts and liabilities of the Whittier Educational Association have been paid in full; now therefore be it Resolved by the Board of Trustees of the Whittier Educational Association that the President and Secretary pro tem of this corporation be and they are hereby authorized and directed, in the name, under the seal and

⁵⁸ WEA, June 29, 1899.

⁵⁹ WEA, June 4, 1900.

⁶⁰ WEA, June 7, June 16, 1900.

on behalf of the corporation to convey, assign, transfer and set over into Whittier College, a corporation, all that certain property hereinafter particularly described, and to perform any and all acts and to execute all papers or cause the same to be done, which are necessary or proper to fully carry out and complete such transfer . . . [here a complete description of the property is given] (2) Also to convey to Whittier College all rights, or title, heretofore reserved or not conveyed, in a certain deed executed by this corporation to California Yearly Meeting of Friends Church."⁶¹ In this way the Whittier Educational Association bowed out of the operation of Whittier College and it began its present corporate existence.

The California Yearly Meeting had accepted the offer made by the Trustees of the Whittier Educational Association in 1900 and had adopted the college. In June 1900 the Yearly Meeting appointed the trustees named in the incorporation papers which would make Whittier College officially a state-recognized educational institution in 1902. The first "president of the college" was Charles E. Tebbets.

In the Fall term of 1901 the first freshman class, six girls, began its work at Whittier College. Dr. Harris describes the school as it was when he became instructor in English and History in 1901: "Equipment and general conditions were not yet overwhelmingly adequate. A gravel path wound up the hill through dry mustard and weeds to the front of the first half of Founders Hall, and a dusty road squirmed through the trees around to the rear where a shed sheltered the steeds of those driving in from the country side. Since there were merely brief bits of sidewalk in town, and of course no pavement, on rainy days attendance frequently dropped a third. There was not an office, a desk with drawers, a typewriter, nor a telephone in the building. Students were assigned seats in the study hall over which teachers presided in the leisure periods among their regular 26-hours-weekly class sessions. The library occupied the room north of the front entrance and consisted mostly of the library of Rev. David J. Lewis which had been admirably suited

⁶¹ WEA, June 19, 1902.

to ministerial needs, but not selected for college reference. Salaries ranged from \$600 to \$800 annually."⁶²

Whittier College was now in existence and although the next fifty years were to be years of rough going and often seemed to be without hope, in 1951 the college was to celebrate its fiftieth anniversary under the motto: "A Half-Century of Service." On the occasion of the banquet culminating this year-long celebration the Chairman of the Department of History, Dr. Paul S. Smith, (now President of Whittier College) in the keynote address made these observations. "In our American West, attainment of the half century mark by an educational institution, elicits a modest measure of public interest. . . . Whittier College was established as a liberal arts institution and remains so to this day. But within the framework of this standard program there has been developed a sort of grass-roots curriculum especially designed to prepare young men and women for leadership in a Christian democracy. The first spectacular phase of its development came in the period 1924-36 with the establishment of a four year correlation course which became nationally known as *The Whittier Idea*⁶³ This re-thinking of the liberal arts curriculum, contemporaneous with similar stirrings at Antioch, Rollins, and Wisconsin, continued into the next decade with the development of a correlation program which has since become commonplace in American higher education. . . . All this, then, is the story of Whittier College. It is the story of cooperation among people of many faiths, united by the willingness to serve, and dedicated to the principle that democracy in a peaceful world and education are inseparable."⁶⁴

⁶² *The Quaker and the West*, p. 40.

⁶³ *The Whittier Idea* was written by Dr. J. Herschel Coffin, now Professor of Philosophy and Psychology at Whittier College. Along with Dr. Louis T. Jones, now retired, Dr. Coffin came to Whittier College in 1923 to set his correlation program into operation. In 1936 the program was modified under the direction of Dr. Albert Upton, now Professor of English at Whittier College. The Integration Program, as it is now called, operated during the Freshman and Sophomore years.

⁶⁴ Speech delivered on March 31, 1951. MS in possession of the writer.

AMERICAN FRIENDS AND RUSSIAN RELIEF

1917 - 1927 (Part II)

BY JOHN FORBES*

State Department Dealings

LINCOLN Steffens, the journalist, and William C. Bullitt, later to be American Ambassador to Russia, made, in February, 1919, an unofficial tour of investigation in Russia at the instance of Colonel House, who needed first-hand information on conditions there for his work in Paris. They returned to make a secret report to the effect that the Soviets wanted peace and food, and would give the first for the latter. This was seen by some Peace Conference delegates as one more factor favoring the erection of the *cordon-sanitaire*. But Henry Scattergood of the American Friends Service Committee in Paris informed the home office that the French believed the American relief organizations and financial interests, by working together, would capture the Russian market from France. The private agencies and the governments ought rather, said the French, to form some sort of international committee for Russian relief under Herbert Hoover and Fridtjof Nansen, a committee to which the League of Nations, the League of Red Cross Societies, and the *Comité Internationale de la Croix-Rouge* ought to be invited to give support. Hoover carried these proposals to the attention of the organizations concerned, but the plan became involved in the tangles of inter-allied military intervention in Russia, and nothing further came of this potentially tremendous project.¹

* John Forbes is a member of the faculty of Blackburn College, Carlinville, Illinois. The first part of this article appeared in the Spring Number.

¹ See *The Memoirs of Herbert Hoover, 1847 - 1920* (New York: Macmillan, 1951), chap. 45. It is doubtful, incidentally, whether all the foreign and domestic relief agencies in Russia ever fed more than one-quarter of the people who, at any one moment, needed food. It is also doubtful whether the main officers of the private or governmental agencies working in Russia often enjoyed one-quarter the comradeship experienced by obscure and happily interdenominational workers running about in pursuit of their duties at the farthest reaches of the distribution web.

United States government agents kept close watch, both at home and in the field, on the AFSC's Russian relief as it developed, as did the State Department.

In December, 1919, the State Department, replying to the AFSC, declared that relief supplies could now be sent to Russia without any violation of State Department or War Trade Board policy, but that no passports to Russia would be issued. But, the Department added, if your people are willing to go at their own risk, and to make no claim upon the United States for protection once they enter Russia, and if they will surrender their passports at the border to a United States representative, expecting them to be returned at the time of their last exit from Russia, they may go.

Dealings with the State Department in regard to the securing of passports and permissions to ship supplies continued, subject to the exigencies of the Department's Russian policies. In August, 1921, on the occasion of a security campaign, the American Relief Administration induced President Harding, who approved Friends Russian work both in principle and practice, to instruct the State Departments to issue no passports to AFSC personnel whom the ARA could not endorse. But in January, 1922, the AFSC learned from the ARA office in New York that the State Department had, without public announcement, instructed its European representatives henceforth to amend the passports of Quaker personnel entering Europe in transit to Russia, or already in Russia, so as to allow these workers in pursuit of their duties to enter Russia at any point. The Committee expressed thanks to the State Department for "... making it possible for the American Friends Service Committee to continue its work in Russia under its own name." Wilbur Thomas, the AFSC's resolute executive director, noted at this time, "We are just beginning to see light after a long, extremely complex and hazardous season of trouble with the State Department and the public over our work in Russia. Many of our Executive Board have often said, 'What's the use? Let's close the Service Committee and get some peace.' Criticisms made from the field and in this country of our so-called subservience to the State Department have been uninformed, irresponsible,

and very damaging. We are doing our level best in an almost hopeless situation."

Merger with British Friends

British and American Friends shared a continuing concern more effectively to coordinate the work of their respective committees. In the summer of 1920, agreements were reached whereby new British Friends War Victims Relief Committee and American Friends Service Committee projects in Europe could be supported from joint project budgets and directed in the field by joint project committees consulting periodically with traveling commissioners. The message which Friends were seeking to make manifest was neither British nor American. It was the message which transcends nationality—the message of Christ.

Yet, on second thought, American Friends felt that such a merger might confuse American contributors, mainly the ARA. Hoover expressed himself against the move, since the funds provided by the American people should be distributed, as he put it, "wholly under the American flag." At length, however, he stated that the AFSC, within its chosen Russian areas and subject to its pledges to the ARA, might work in co-operation, but not in amalgamation, with British Friends.

The British Friends for their part, now began to question joining with AFSC projects so directly supervised by the ARA. Many American Friends sympathized with their doubts. By the end of November, 1921, the AFSC workers in Russia had entirely separated the American from the British Friends work.

Toward the autumn of 1922, with the Riga Agreement steadily losing its hold on the ARA and the Russian Government, AFSC workers in Russia began to press the home committee to break off with the ARA; to authorize the unit in Russia to make a separate agreement with the Russian government; and formally to fuse the American and British projects. Friends realized that the merger would require new sanctions from the Russian government. But interest in the adoption of these proposals was not unanimous. Some Friends held them to be dishonorable; others said they were impractical and, if adopted, would reduce rather than augment efficiency. In the matter of

temperament alone, some said, this step, if made decisive, would lead to complications. The British home committee was eager for the change.

Matters simmered until August, 1923. Then a formal merger with the British projects was effected. Joint headquarters, directing the work of more than thirty British and American Friends, were set up in the Buzuluk region. Owing to lack of funds, work was confined to the Pugachev and Buzuluk districts in which, during the worst period of the famine, the percentage of persons having less food than was required to maintain life had been respectively sixty-eight and ninety-four per cent.

The Course of Work and Relations in Russia

AFSC relief in Russia, begun in 1917 (later than that of British Friends, but prior to the work of the AR^A) for some time ran before it really walked—ran unevenly, that is, as a man who is walking and stumbles will run some steps to keep from falling. At home, the obstacles of apathy to Russia's needs and suspicion of her politics, plus post-revolutionary chaos in the field, kept the AFSC's Russian work thus off balance for almost three years. Always outpaced by the famine, it was a long time before the Service Committee sufficiently gained its footing to stride forward, as it were, in answer to the needs of those from whom came the terrible cry, "*We have nothing to eat.*"

In September, 1920, came word from Friends in Moscow that one British and one American Friends' representative accompanying a large shipment of milk concentrates, medicines, and clothing should be sent to Moscow and there help them conclude arrangements with the government for the establishment of a full-scale Anglo-American Quaker program in Russia. This was good news indeed, and seemed to mark a point of culmination. Yet Friends awaited the outcome with reservations. The attitude of the authorities towards what would be an enlarged effort to demonstrate Quaker principles through deeds was not clearly predictable.

Anna Haines agreed to return. She reached Reval, and with Arthur Watts proceeded to Moscow and to the Soviet

officials with whom she had again to treat in the name of the American Friends Service Committee. What must have been her thoughts? She had first to come to Russia in the cause of relief while the Czar still held the Winter Palace; she had seen Kerensky overthrow the Czar; she had seen Kerensky overthrown. She had been obliged with five other women to interrupt the work in Buzuluk and cross Siberia in the midst of counter-revolution to Vladivostok. Now she was returning to Moscow, having circled the globe.

The agreement which Arthur Watts, for the British Friends War Victims Relief Committee, and Anna Haines, for the American Friends Service Committee, concluded with the Soviet Commissariat of Supplies at Moscow in December, 1920, provided that supplies furnished jointly by the two Quaker groups were to be shipped to Reval, turned over there to the Commissariat's local representative, and, at the Russian government's expense, transported to Moscow and stored in heated, lighted, and adequately staffed warehouses. No supplies were to be moved from these warehouses except on the signed orders of the Friends. These supplies were to be allotted free to government institutions for distribution on a basis mutually acceptable to the Friends and the Soviet government. The government at the same time agreed to admit more Friends workers into Russia to work in outlying provinces, providing these workers brought with them considerable supplies.

AFSC projects began to gain. By the end of 1921, the Service Committee was able to authorize its Russian unit to begin feeding supplementary meals to 50,000 children a day, with the prospect of an early increase. Medical needs, only less urgent than the need for food, were partially met with supplies contributed by American Medical Aid to Russia. Now came the clogged ports issue, and its penalties to the work: "the present program of the ARA seems to put a complete stop to our work in Russia," wrote Wilbur Thomas to Herbert Hoover. Nevertheless, five workers (including Homer and Edna Morris) were detached from the Friends German unit and sent to Russia. The ARA as almoner now had \$35,000,000 to expend in Russian relief, but cautious observers reckoned that Russian

relief needed at least \$150,000,000. A further complication was the fact that Poland and Russia were almost at daggers drawn for the control of refugees gathered at their borders. The situation could erupt at any time, to the immense danger of relief programs carried on by Friends among these distracted people. There was also the question of the ARA's attitude towards continued Anglo-American Quaker collaboration.

In the spring of 1922 in Buzuluk human bodies, men, women, and children, lay piled in heaps as large as a small country green-house. As soon as the ground thawed, the Quaker workers there fed extra rations to the stronger men so that they could rally sufficiently to help the Quakers dig burial pits. Seldom in human history had there been conditions which so nearly paralleled those predicted in the Apocalypse. The trains which brought the Friends relief supplies into the region were pulled by wood-burning locomotives built in the 1880's and were guarded by Red Army soldiers many of whom had to be helped down off the roofs of the cars by their stronger comrades when the trains at last pulled into the station. In not one single instance was it evident that the seals on these food cars had been broken by these desperately starving men. Food pilfering by local inhabitants sometimes occurred: raids on the food, either by the government (unlike what later happened to Quaker food under Franco's orders immediately after his victory in the Spanish Civil War) or by the military, by the local populace, or by gangs of bandits never once occurred.²

² The total known loss throughout the entire Russian program, by theft or confusion, of the AFSC's relief supplies was evaluated at one-half of one per cent. "Everything considered," Murray Kenworthy later reported in this connection, "I am inclined to praise the Russian railroad officials, rather than to find fault." The extent of internal transportation delays, like the extent of clogging at the northern ports, had been exaggerated in the American press, the Quakers believed. Some cargoes had been re-routed to avoid frozen ports, and had been thus delayed. Other cargoes had been transferred into ships small enough to get through the narrow channels opened by ice-breakers, and in the process had been damaged or lost track of. These shipping discrepancies could not excuse the failure of local officials to carry accepted responsibilities through, but neither could they be laid at the doors of central officials.

Medical supplies were now being distributed through the Commissariat of Public Health, the AFSC retaining and exercising the rights to ultimate control and immediate inspection. The population of Russia at this time was approximately 131,000,000. The number of physicians in the entire country was about 33,000, making an average physician ratio of approximately 1 to 4,000. The number of known active cases in the land requiring primary medical attention was 25,000,000. In the Buzuluk district there was one physician for every 28,703 of the population. The lowest physician-patient ratio in the United States at this time (in a rural Kansas district) was as 1 to 3,645.

In March, 1922, the AFSC was able to raise its Russian feeding to 100,000 supplementary meals a day, and to expand clothing and medical projects, despite hard sledding for funds at home. It was hoped that this level could be maintained until harvest. But in May, it was possible to double the feeding program, to feed 200,000 persons daily. There were at least another 100,000 persons in the Buzuluk district who could not be fed. Their situation was extreme. The shipping difficulties obliged the unit, from time to time, to purchase food in Central Europe, another part of the general area of hunger, contrary to standard practice (food-purchase in a hungry area only redistributes, does not add to, the area's food supply) and to the desires of many American contributors who wanted all the food to be purchased in America.

Fresh complications in the unit's dealings with the ARA and the Russian government, emphasized by the protracted illness (typhus) of the unit's director, Murray Kenworthy, now made clear the need for a general review of the arrangements between the AFSC and the Government. Thus, in October, 1922, fresh arrangements were made. The British and American Friends agreed daily to feed 200,000 children and adults in the Buzuluk and Pugachev districts until July, and to expand their clothing and medical programs. They also agreed periodically to submit complete reports to the government and, on pain of instant dismissal, to see to it that their personnel continued to

engage in no political or commercial activities. The government, for its part, expanded the exemptions, facilities, and services which the Quaker projects were currently allowed. This contract was subject to termination by either party on two months' notice.

A long communication received from the Russian Government only one month later, in November, 1922, showed to what extent Friends' continuation in Russia was likely to be allowed.

We are deeply grateful to all foreign agencies for their help, this official communication began, "but the worst period of the famine has already passed, and . . . life is entering into its normal course." Now we must revive our industry and agriculture, and set about the task of human reconstruction, work which we must perform on a basis of greatly reduced resources. We are grateful to the foreign agencies, including the Friends, for their offers to help us with this work, but we must limit the amount and type of help which we can accept from foreign sources. During the famine, we had no system, nor would the constant emergencies of that period have allowed us to follow a system had we had one. Many irregularities took place at this time in the dealings between the Government and the foreign agencies.

In view of these circumstances, so this letter continued, the Soviet government is now obliged to announce that henceforth the foreign organizations, including the Friends organization, in respect to their relief food supplies themselves must bear the cost of all internal transportation and warehousing and also payments to Russian personnel; must pay customs charges on non-milk foods, food parcels, and second-hand clothing brought into Russia; and must co-ordinate their relief programs (including, in the case of Friends, the establishment of new medical programs, clothing programs and student-teacher feeding centers) with those of the government, to avoid duplication of effort. Moreover, the staffs of all foreign agencies, including the Friends agency, must be kept numerically proportionate to the work these agencies performed, and to the strict requirements of efficiency.

The Russians hoped that the foreign agencies, by co-ordinating their short-range and long-range efforts with those of the Government, could work harmoniously and effectively with the authorities towards the further benefit of the Russian people. This communication closed with the implication that unless the foreign agencies, including the Friends' agency, accepted these terms, the Soviet government would not feel itself obligated to fulfill any previously made, but not presently nullified, commitments.

These terms, set forth by a government apparently very much aware of its self-assumed unique political mission and, apparently, very much embarrassed not yet to be independent of foreign charity for its people, entailed new restrictions and new burdens for the Friends. But the Friends accepted these terms chiefly because the famine was getting worse, not better, as was claimed, and Friends wanted to stay to help relieve it.

Friends' relations with Soviet officials continued to be chronically uneven—sometimes bad, sometimes better, sometimes very good indeed. The three basic qualities of Friends' dealings with the Soviet Government may be said to have been firmness, patience, and forbearance. That politics must not be allowed to obstruct or subvert relief was the main thing.

In the spring of 1923, the AFSC began to plan the next phase of its Russian work. Feeding must continue, at least until the coming harvest, and almost certainly beyond, through the winter and following spring. Agricultural rehabilitation, hospital repairing and supplying, medical aid for mothers and children, and orphanage provisioning could, it was hoped, go forward on a more adequate scale. Action against the tropical malaria brought into Buzuluk from Turkestan by peasants who had gone there in search of food, and against the typhus still remaining in Buzuluk from the winter epidemic of 1921-22, must be extended. In keeping with Quaker principle, plans were made to devolve as much as possible of the ongoing work onto trained Russian staff at the first opportunity, and standards for the better selection of Americans to gather up the work of those now planning to leave were defined. The Service Committee realized that, as the urgency of the need abated, direct dealings with Soviet officials would increase.

"Committee finds business depression affecting all relief drives. Advises most drastic expense cut possible immediately ..." read a cablegram from home in early summer, 1924. However, the residual relief work and the enlarging concern for all types of reconstruction were carried out through 1924 and 1925. There had not been a good harvest in the Buzuluk district for ten years, that is, since 1915. The AFSC was not yet ready to give up in Russia, and hoped it could witness to the Quaker message there through deeds as long as money held out. But money was now exceedingly difficult to come by, not only for Russia but for all overseas work. This was the case with other organizations as well.

Through 1924 and 1925 some AFSC projects (including those developed jointly with the Russian government) ran smoothly and even gained in harmony and efficiency while other projects, in these respects, lost ground. With the devolution of the emergency work through 1925, 1926, and into 1927, there was a major shift in emphasis from the tasks of physical relief and reconstruction to the no less difficult tasks of social reconstruction and of seeking to foster appropriate means of international understanding.

In dealings with the State Department, the ARA and the Russian government, the long record of the Quakers' interest in Russia and help to Russia—a record covering some 260 years—had been of inestimable value to the Quaker units now working there. Among most interested Russians, Quakers received all the credit for the relief which had been brought into Russia since the beginning of the war, even though the Quakers repeated again and again that by far the greater portion of this relief had been provided by other organizations. Appreciation of the Quaker aid was widespread, apparently, although neither then nor later in all instances retained.

Friends still kept within the scope of their functions: they met needs—in the medical, agricultural, and social fields still urgent—and without proselytizing, they made use of opportunities for religious fellowship with the Russian people. They continued to be correct in their relations with the Government. All was not clear, however, for as the urgency of physical needs gave way, political interference with the Quaker work increased.

Owing to lack of support at home and to adverse pressure by the Soviet government, the Quaker committees finally withdrew from Russia in the spring of 1927. Individuals remained to keep up established Quaker contacts.

Conclusions

Nation-wide efforts to relieve suffering caused by war are, like the phenomenon of world war itself, new. The Society of Friends is opposed to war, but Friends' experience through the Spanish Civil War and two World Wars in war victims relief, including ten years experience in Soviet Russia, has indicated that in relieving war victims:

1. Friends have worked, can work, and must work with governments.
2. To work with governments successfully, Friends have guarded, can guard, and must guard their authority to proceed according to their own criteria.
3. Conditions of human need in regions of political instability attract two essentially different types of relief organizations.
4. Relative need has been, and must be, the only basis for the distribution of relief supplies and services by Friends. Political relief subverts relief, and is self-defeating.
5. Few helpers: not enough money: overwhelming need: the three constant features of war victims relief.
6. It is generally harder to collect money at home than to distribute food in the field.
7. To work without pay and live near the local standard is an uncommon, but effective witness.
8. The relationship between relief worker and recipient is delicate, and often-times entails hard trial.
9. It is harder to organize relief programs than to maintain them: it is harder to devolve ongoing relief programs onto local groups than personally to continue them.

10. In relief work, as elsewhere, it is hard to be so devoted to Truth as to be unaffected by success or failure.
11. Quaker relief work done in the Quaker way has been and again may be a solvent to international stubbornness and fear.
12. Quakers conceive of their relief programs as instrumentalities brought to bear in a different type of warfare towards the more lasting Peace.

A memorial addressed to the American Friends Service Committee in November, 1923, by the Peasant Mutual Aid Committee of Sorochinskoye concludes this summary of Friends efforts to relieve Russian children, who are themselves now parents of a new generation of imperiled children: "We promise that if ever some misfortune befalls the American people, the Russian people will apply all their efforts to give assistance."

Notes and Documents

Fox Holographs at Haverford

By HENRY J. CADBURY

The note on a brief holograph manuscript of George Fox at Haverford College (BULLETIN 40 [1951], 98 f.) was no sooner in type than two things occurred: (1) I identified the exact place to which it belonged; and (2) another holograph piece came to the same library.

(1) The reference symbols previously mentioned as on the corner of the sheet—an index hand and a cross—occur also in the Spence MSS on which the *Cambridge Journal* of George Fox is based, and are mentioned in that edition (II, 341, note 1) in the middle of a “rapid survey of the rise and progress of truth” (pp. 338-344). The text refers to but does not give a summary of sufferings “both before and since the king came in, as you may see as followeth.” The fragment at Haverford evidently was to be inserted exactly there. In fact, the passage was still in that context in 1698 when the whole document was printed in Fox’s *Epistles* (pp. 2-7). In the early printing the date 1661 is given after the next to the last sentence (as originally in the MS) instead of at the very end, where instead was printed “about 1663”, the year which I had suggested. How the Haverford fragment got separated from the Spence MSS is not evident. This and other inserts missing from them are listed in *Camb. Jnl.*, I, xxxiii. Apparently three leaves containing Fox’s handwriting were given away in 1820 (*ibid.*, II, 105).

(2) The other newly-acquired piece was included in a scrapbook owned once by Elizabeth Underhill Willis, widow of John R. Willis, who died in 1869 in her seventy-ninth year, and given recently to the college by Eleanor W. Taber. Instead of being a whole sheet with a little writing on one side, it is only the top cut off a sheet that was written on both sides. Each side makes a new beginning at the top and continued beyond the surviving text. The style, the spelling and the handwriting

are all unmistakably those of George Fox. In modern form the text would read:

The aged men and women in nature are to be esteemed, and also the aged men and women in the Truth is to be esteemed in it. The higher power that the soul is to be subject to which is a terror to evildoers and is a praise to them that do well, and this power that the soul must be subject to is ordained of God. So God must have his due in his obedience, service and worship and praises, and Caesar his custom and tribute, his earthly, and God must have his due, his spiritual and heavenly.

God hath given Christ for a leader and they that are led by him will not [follow] the blind guides . . .

Verso

When the Son of Man cometh shall or doth he find faith upon the earth or in it? And if he findeth faith in the earth before he come then how is he the author of faith and the finisher which all must look at him for it? But the Son of Man may find many faith-makers in the earth and persecuting them that he worketh faith in.

And is there more gotten by any one thing in all that which is called Christendom than by the Scriptures which was given forth by the Holy Ghost freely, but by the evil spirit they make a trade of them and do plead for sin that blindeth people and the body of death to the grave to keep them in ignorance. And that spirit doth undervalue Christ's blood, death and sufferings, as though Christ was not able to purchase and redeem and restore man and woman out of his lost estate and to get him in the state as he was in before he fell. And you that say Christ did not die for all men, you are them that deny the Lord that bought them . . .

This page of Fox's writings is one of many that were copied for him into a quarto book still extant at Friends House, London. The dated pieces come from 1669 to 1674 and the copying was done probably by 1675, since the inventory was written by Edward Haistwell, who wrote for Fox at Swarthmore then and who later accompanied him to the Continent. From this book, designated as V, the *Annual Catalogue of George Fox's Papers* listed each item. The first and last words of the paragraphs so far as given above (the original has no paragraphs) will be found entered there under 1672, items 10, 57 F; 10, 58 F; 10, 64 F; 10, 65 F. These and other parts of this sheet were copied on pages 25 to 27 of V. They were originally written in America if they are correctly assigned to the year 1672, which Fox spent wholly on this side of the Atlantic. And here they are again!

Historical News

Friends Historical Association

THE SPRING MEETING of Friends Historical Association was held at Westtown School, Westtown, Pennsylvania, on Seventh-day, Fifth Month 17, 1952. Members of the Association and their guests assembled in the meetinghouse at 3:30 P.M. After a few introductory remarks by President William W. Comfort, an address on "Longwood Meetinghouse, its History and Attenders," was given by Albert J. Wahl of the State Teachers College, Indiana, Pennsylvania. A lively question and discussion period followed the talk to which Friends contributed reminiscences of Longwood Meeting and the people connected with it. Afterwards there was an opportunity for members of the Association to enjoy the beautiful grounds of the school, and to inspect the interesting historic exhibits in the main building, arranged by our Secretary, Susanna Smedley. Owing to the cool and rainy weather, an outdoor picnic was not possible, but arrangements were made for the group to assemble for supper in one of the gymnasium buildings. All those present enjoyed the Spring Meeting, and members of the Association expressed their appreciation for the hospitality of Westtown School.

* * *

The Board of Directors at its meeting on Fourth Month 11, 1952 approved a contribution of thirty-five guineas towards the restoration of Swarthmoor Hall, the home of Margaret Fell in England and unofficial headquarters of the early Quaker movement. The Secretary was also directed to write to the Wells Preservation Society, Wells, England, expressing the Association's interest in the preservation of the "Royal Oak," an old building in which William Penn preached.

Quaker Research in Progress

The following list of current or recent studies in Quaker history continues the series of such notices appearing from time to time in the BULLETIN. It is of course improbable that the list is complete, but it is interesting as showing where the present frontiers of Quaker research are.

Information concerning other Quaker studies in progress but not published should be sent to Henry J. Cadbury, Chairman of the Committee on Historical Research, 7 Buckingham Place, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

Thomas D. S. Bassett, Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana. *Middlewestern Quakerism. (The Separation of 1828-29 in the West)*. Research commenced.

Anne Carey, 186, Thorne Road, Doncaster, England. Balby "Children of the Light." (Early Friends in Balby, 1650-60). In rough draft.

Betsy Copping Corner, 4 Merryman Court, Baltimore 10, Maryland. Dr. John Fothergill and the Ideal of Peace (Paper to be delivered before the Royal Society of Medicine, Historical Section, Autumn, 1952, in London).

William D. Dwyer, 626 Laughlin Hall, Princeton, New Jersey. *Emigration of Spanish Refugees and Their Resettlement in France and North Africa, 1939-40.* (Largely based on material in AFSC archives at Haverford). Princeton University: History, thesis for A.B. degree, 1952.

Helmut von Erffa, Art Department, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey. *A Catalogue of the Drawings of Benjamin West.* Outline planned; some material collected.

Edmund Goerke, Jr., Monmouth Hills, New Jersey. *Friends Meetings in Northern New Jersey.* (The location of all thirty meetings in this area has been determined).

Anthony Higgins, R.D. 3, Newark, Delaware. *The Corbits on Appoquinimy: A Quaker Family of the Border South.* (Socio-economic study, carrying the Corbit family of Odessa, Delaware, from the early eighteenth century down to ca. 1875). Completed.

Robert J. Leach, 92 rte de Chêne, Geneva, Switzerland. *Quaker Experience in International Affairs, 1914-1953.* University of Geneva: Political Science, thesis for Ph.D. degree. Research recently undertaken.

Elizabeth M. F. van Mesvannée, 12 Sweelinckstraat, Den Haag, The Netherlands. *The Relation between the Prophetical and Mystical Aspects of Quakerism.* Theological Seminary of the Remonstrant Brotherhood: Theology, thesis for Proponent degree, 1952.

Hanna Darlington Monaghan, Buck Hill Falls, Pennsylvania. *Quaker Prophet: George Fox* (A character study of Fox in the light of his miracles).

Saul Sack, School of Education, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania. A History of Higher Education in Pennsylvania. (To include reference to Quaker connections with the Women's Medical College, Haverford, Swarthmore, Bryn Mawr Colleges, and Cheyney Training School for Teachers). Research partly completed.

Mary Paige Ware, 50 East Main Street, Yarmouth, Maine. History of Falmouth Quarterly Meeting (Maine), 1921-46. (Continuing an account of the earlier years prepared in 1920 by Viola K. Rollins). Completed (copy on file at Haverford College Library).

Sarah Porter Whitney, Elwyn, Delaware County, Pennsylvania. History of the Elwyn Training School, 1853-1953. Writing commenced.

Bufo Yamamuro, 267 I Chome Kami-Kitazawa, Setagaya, Tokyo, Japan. A Popular Story of Quakerism. (For the Japanese public). Research commenced.

Elizabeth Yates, Peterborough, New Hampshire. Prudence Crandall: Her Life and Work. (For older boys and girls). Research commenced.

From Quaker Libraries

The Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College reports the recent deposit of nineteen volumes of records of Goshen Monthly Meeting, sixteen volumes of records of Kennett Monthly Meeting, and one volume of records of Woodbury Preparative Meeting; also the MS minute book of the Acting Committee of the New York Association of Friends for the Relief of Those Held in Slavery, 1839-44; and a MS account of the "White Quakers" of Ireland by Ernest Bennis.

The Quaker Collection of the Haverford College Library received as a gift several boxes of letters and papers of Moses Brown (1793-1878), of New Hampshire and Philadelphia, including two letters written by Stephen Grellet, six from Eliza Kirkbride Gurney, and one by Moses Brown of Rhode Island written in 1836 just a few months before his death. Another gift was the marriage certificate of Samuel Pastorius and Hannah Lucken, dated 1716, and signed by Francis Daniel Pastorius, one of the witnesses at his son's marriage. The diaries of Joseph Walton (1817-1898), in nineteen volumes covering the years 1875 to 1894 were another interesting addition to Haverford's manuscripts.

The Earlham College Library has recently acquired twenty volumes of early Ohio imprints from the press of Elisha Bates of Mount Pleasant.

Approximately 125 letters of Lucretia Mott to her sister Martha Coffin Wright are in the Garrison Collection, which is part of the larger Sophia Smith Collection in the library of Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts.

Book Reviews

FRIENDS FOR 300 YEARS. By Howard Brinton. New York: Harper & Bros. 1952. xv, 239 pages. \$3.00.

FRRIENDS expect to find good fare in anything written by Howard Brinton, and his latest book will amply come up to expectation, and probably go far beyond. It has been strikingly described by F. B. Tolles as "the closest thing this Quaker generation has produced—or is likely to produce—to Robert Barclay's great *Apology*," and the present reviewer endorses that judgment.

The subtitle, "The history and beliefs of the Society of Friends since George Fox started the Quaker movement," is not so accurately descriptive of the book as this statement in the Introduction: "The endeavor in this book is not to produce a history of Quakerism, but, by means of historical illustrations, to examine a method." It is a thoughtful and thought-provoking discussion of the beliefs and ways of Friends, combining highly theoretical reasoning with very practical guidance, as, for instance, in the description of how Friends worship. At the same time, it is clearly and interestingly written, and is a book to put confidently into the hands of thoughtful enquirers, and to help Friends understand more deeply their own faith.

Two related themes run through the book bringing a welcome freshness of approach. It suggests that the Quaker historians of the beginning of this century were influenced, perhaps over-influenced, by Hegelian idealism; and that now we are facing the challenge of neo-Calvinism. Between these two poles stands Barclay, "pessimistic regarding . . . 'natural' man's present condition, but optimistic in respect to man's capacity for regeneration and union with God even in this life," and Howard Brinton says that he "sympathizes with Barclay's position, while rejecting much of his terminology."

The other theme is that Quakerism is best seen as neither Catholicism nor Protestantism, and Howard Brinton writes believing that the time is ripe for the emergence of this "third form of Christianity" into greater influence and power. He points out that Barclay often makes this distinction, and throughout the book he points to contrasts between the position of most Protestants and that of Friends, the relationship to Catholicism being more taken for granted. In this way he considers worship, attitude to the Bible, imputed righteousness, perfection, and other subjects, showing that Friends' stress lies in a different place on account of their doctrine of the universal Light of Christ.

Insofar as these contrasts point to witness that Friends still have to make to their fellow Christians, they are important and welcome, but readers may not all be fully convinced that the conception of a "third form" of Christianity is the truest. The book admits that "in some respects Quakerism represented the extreme left wing of the English Reformation," but having admitted this, it passes it by. Rufus

Jones and others have shown how the mystical element recurring throughout Christian history finds expression in Quakerism, but until recently there was insufficient knowledge of the way in which Quakerism grew out of the religious life of England. Geoffrey F. Nuttall's work on *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience* (1946) was primarily a contribution to the study of the Holy Spirit, but it also conclusively showed that Quakerism was a consequential development of the English Reformation, its logical conclusion expressing that which was implicit in it. The fact that in doing so it rediscovered the Light as a unifying principle and check to individualism, and therefore wedded Protestantism to group mysticism, makes its unique position.

A book that is so good deserves to pass through many editions. With this in mind, two small criticisms may be in place. To say that "the word 'Quakerism' has only recently come into use" is somewhat misleading; Penn published his *Quakerism a New Nickname for Old Christianity* in 1673 in reply to Faldo's *Quakerism No Christianity*, and the word was in use as early as 1656. The suggestion that Friends "from the earliest days" did not manufacture or sell intoxicating beverages, is, alas, not true for English Friends. The listing of the chapter subheadings in the Contents would make it much easier for the reader to find his way and to use the book for reference.

Woodbrooke

L. HUGH DONCASTER

My Irish Journal, 1669-1670. By William Penn. London, New York and Toronto: Longmans, Green & Co. 1952. 104 pages. \$3.00. Edited by Isabel Grubb, with an introduction by Henry J. Cadbury.

PENN'S Irish journal, which covers a period of nine months from September 15, 1669, to July 1, 1670, was written when he was twenty-five years of age. His father, Sir William Penn, had sent him to Ireland to settle many matters pertaining to his landed estates, which comprised more than 12,000 statute acres scattered about in seventy-odd places in east and west Cork. As Isabel Grubb points out, the *Journal* has historical value as a source book on landlord-tenant relationships during an early period in the Protestant ascendancy. The experience Penn gained in estate management during several such trips was good business training for the role he was soon to play as one of the trustees of West Jersey, as chief proprietor of Pennsylvania, and as one of the Twenty-Four Proprietors of East Jersey. As a result, the land systems of the Quaker colonies were less doctrinaire than those of many of the proprietary colonies.

At this time in his career Penn was already a convinced Quaker and was received by leading Irish Friends as a coequal. He associated with William Edmundson and other influential Friends and took a prominent part in the National Meeting in Dublin. He was active in opposing the restrictions suffered by Friends and interceded personally with the Lord Lieutenant in an effort to gain relief for them. As a Public Friend, Penn

visited and spoke at many meetings. He also engaged frequently in religious disputation with non-Friends. He found time to work upon two tracts, *A Seasonable Caveat against Popery . . .* and *The Great Case of Liberty of Conscience Debated and Defended*, both of which were soon published. Thus the *Journal* is particularly illuminating with respect to Penn's early writing.

Henry J. Cadbury contributes a valuable history of this manuscript, a small (2½" x 5") parchment-covered pocket-book containing less than 12,000 words, which is now in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. In 1910 Norman Penney published a proof-edition of fifty copies in the expectation of receiving information on the countless names and places which Penn had abbreviated. This difficult task has been to all intents and purposes achieved by Isabel Grubb, who has succeeded in identifying practically all the persons cryptically mentioned, as well as the place-names. Her maps of the Penn lands in east and west Cork, appearing as end-papers, are a witness to her thoroughness.

For the student of the Quaker colonies, this work has an added interest. Of the fifty Quakers mentioned in the *Journal*, a substantial number were sponsors or participants in American colonization. Robert Turner, the wealthy Dublin linen draper, became a proprietor of West Jersey and East Jersey, and a First Purchaser of Pennsylvania. Anthony Sharp, the woolen manufacturer of Dublin, was a fractional proprietor of both West Jersey and East Jersey and in 1680 personally backed the settlement of the Irish Tenth in West Jersey. William Steele of Cork was a West Jersey proprietor. Samuel Claridge, disowned by the National Meeting in 1677, became a First Purchaser and a fractional proprietor of East Jersey. William Crispin, a kinsman of Penn's, and Sir William Petty, a non-Friend, became First Purchasers on a substantial scale, while Ambrose Rigge of Surrey, whose writings Penn was distributing in Ireland, was one of the Twenty-Four Proprietors of East Jersey and a First Purchaser. Other Friends mentioned in the *Journal*, most of them English, who became First Purchasers of Pennsylvania, were Philip Ford, Alexander Parker, George Whitehead, Thomas Ellwood, John Burnyeat, Charles Hartford, John Penington, and Joshua Fenn.

Huntington Library

JOHN E. POMFRET

Slavery and "The Woman Question": Lucretia Mott's Diary of Her Visit to Great Britain to Attend the World's Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840. Edited by Frederick B. Tolles. Supplement No. 23 to the *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*. Haverford, Pennsylvania, and London: Published jointly by Friends Historical Association and the Friends' Historical Society. 1952. 86 pages. \$1.00.

LUCRETIA MOTT went to the World's Anti-Slavery Convention in London in 1840 to help free the slaves; she returned to America determined to devote herself as well to an even grander project—the

emancipation of half the human race. For she and her fellow female delegates from the United States found themselves seated "behind the bar" at the World's Convention after the "woman question" had been canvassed on the opening day, unable to participate in any of the deliberations. The affront to their sex caused them to inaugurate the greater crusade for the emancipation of women which grew out of the campaign to abolish slavery. Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and the other women who saw themselves debarred from the general effort for the emancipation of the Negro, came home to work for the emancipation of women, to gather their forces and issue the famous Declaration in favor of the independence of womankind at Seneca Falls in 1848.

Actually the fact that Lucretia Mott was a woman had not alone been responsible for the discrimination against her in London in 1840. She and her husband were Hicksites, and therefore anathema to the English Friends who held high office in the British Anti-Slavery Society. Sectarian orthodoxy confirmed the natural English prejudices—stronger than in America—against women's participating in public discussion. And the fact that the American Anti-Slavery Society had just split over William Lloyd Garrison's immediatism and his advocacy of multiple reforms including women's rights, brought a delegation of American abolitionists to London as anxious to weaken Garrison by excluding his female associates as were the conservative English reformers to keep women in their proper place.

But, as Lucretia Mott's vivid diary discloses, neither her sex, her religious affiliations, nor her support of Garrison kept her from observing the Convention, from seeing and being seen by all the leading reformers of the day, nor from investigating and promoting reform on a grand scale. The Corn Laws; the question of India; the condition of the poor and the laboring classes; religion and the churches; Ireland; temperance; prisons; the education of infants, of servant girls, and of women in general; slavery; free-produce; and the emancipation of women—all these occupied the attention of James and Lucretia Mott during their three months in Britain. At breakfasts, morning calls, luncheons, teas, and dinners; at general meetings devoted to one reform or another, and at special meetings called to enable Lucretia Mott to speak publicly on one or many of her concerns, they met the élite of the English reformers. The diary is full of their names: Quakers and churchman, lords and commoners, dissenters, especially the Unitarians, who welcomed Lucretia Mott to their pulpits; people like Daniel O'Connell, Lady Byron, Harriet Martineau, Thomas Clarkson, Elizabeth Fry, Thomas Hodgkin, Joseph Pease, Joseph Sturge, and a host of lesser lights. With many Lucretia disagreed—Fanny Wright found little favor in her eyes; Robert Owen she thought visionary; Joseph Sturge had wrongly joined in the refusal to seat the women delegates at the Convention. Yet from them all Lucretia Mott gained much in breadth of knowledge and friendship; and to all she gave inspiration to continue their work and expand their horizons. In spite of her

place behind the bar she proved to be the "Lioness of the Convention," or so an Irish Friend remarked (p. 3). The British found her reputation as America's foremost woman reformer well warranted; they flocked to see her and to hear her talk.

Other books tell the story of the Convention and the Motts' journey in more formal manner, as we discover in the excellent introduction and footnotes to this volume. But nothing quite gives such a lively sense of being there as this day-by-day record of the brilliant and indefatigable Lucretia Mott herself. Her impressions of people and places—always seen through her Nantucket-Hicksite Quaker-reformer's eyes—are unique. Her picture of travel a century ago tells us much—of how little change there has been in English hotel table service and how much in room furnishings in a hundred years: the eternal toast rack, then as now, insured that the toast would be completely cold, but who would expect curtained beds and night caps for men to be provided in his Liverpool hotel today!

Competently edited and well printed, this volume inaugurates most auspiciously a joint publishing venture of the British and American Quaker historical organizations.

Haverford College

THOMAS E. DRAKE

Rufus Jones Speaks to Our Time: An Anthology. Edited by Harry Emerson Fosdick. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1951. 289 pages. \$4.00.

FOR weeks this book has been on my bedside table, and better reading for the close of a busy day could hardly be found anywhere. This is by no means surprising, for Rufus Jones, throughout more than eighty years of living, was an unusually busy man. Dr. Fosdick in his arresting introduction underscores the lines of this activity, calling him "the leading historian of mysticism . . . a great teacher of philosophy . . . a reformer of the Society of Friends . . . an outstanding leader in the extension of Quaker Service around the world." Here poured between covers hardly an inch apart is wisdom distilled from over ten thousand printed pages written by that busy man.

It is arranged under thirteen heads in answer to timely questions such as every intelligent person puts to himself at one time or another on God and man and their interrelation, on religion, science, and the reality of the eternal, on the faults and duties of the Church, on dealing with dark days such as the present, and on belief in immortality. To say that perhaps more space is given to disproving the existence of a fundamental conflict between science and religion than seems necessary today is merely to point out that this book is the product of a long life.

Rufus Jones was fifty-nine when the searing experiences of the last two decades began tearing down the general acceptance of life based on material findings alone. Two-thirds of his adult years lie in an epoch when demonstrating the existence of non-material reality was

indeed the crucial task before believing men. And the very training which dictated the recurring insistence of his affirmation of unseen forces stripped his own belief to its thrilling and universal essentials. From the ground he attained he speaks with warm authority to our time which is at last dimly conscious of that Other beyond the limits of the senses, and to the men groping blindly toward it.

Because Rufus Jones, as Dr. Fosdick says at the beginning of his introduction, was much more than his books, everyone who takes up this volume should read that introduction first of all. For those who knew him it will be a searchlight that picks up again his radiance, his rare wisdom, his unexpected and gleeful turns of speech, his undeflatable faith in men. Those who never knew the challenge of meeting him need this understanding survey of what he was and did, if they are to take in all there is in what he said.

To summarize his unique contribution to the field of philosophy or mysticism would require a knowledge of both which I do not possess. Nor do I think it important. Rufus Jones was primarily a lighter of candles. He proclaimed constantly that in the past something "came because the soul broke through the ebbings and flowings of time and space and allied itself with the Eternal"; and that today God "becomes real in the same sense that experienced beauty is real, or the feel of spring is real or that summer sunlight is real — he has been found, he has been met, he is present." Not all of us can arrive at the oneness which he knew, but every individual has that in him which can reach out to this Reality which is there. Of this Rufus Jones was sure.

The philosopher will find in this book a new word to add to his treasury; the mystic will see another door opening into the World Beyond; the rest of us who may keep this book on our bedside tables will find "the evil in us weakened and the good raised up."

Arlington, Vermont

ELIZABETH PAGE

Democracy and the Quaker Method. By Francis E. Pollard, Beatrice E. Pollard, and Robert S. W. Pollard. New York: Philosophical Library. 1950. 160 pages. \$3.00.

IN RECENT years several books and articles have recommended that the practices of Friends' meetings for business be used more widely in our society as a successful way of securing agreement. When as a result individuals inquire of us, we have only inadequate materials to put in their hands. The Pollards' book greatly improves on the previous lesser works and points the way towards our developing such systematic materials.

By emphasizing the religious basis of Friends' meetings for business the authors fill one gap in some of the popular accounts by non-Friends. Less well recognized in our Society is the need for scientific study of Friends' meetings. Much that we understand very imperfectly

is involved in successful use of sense-of-the-meeting procedures. Enough is known of social science research techniques to justify some optimism about the utility of applying such research to Quaker practices.

Friends reading the Pollards' book are likely to ask themselves: what is the state of our meetings? This reviewer's response is negative, alarmingly so. Young and old Friends need to have experiences of success in applying traditional Quaker methods to crucial meeting and community problems. Typically, our business sessions are in the pattern of poorly-operated committees dealing with unimportant items. More individuals probably experience the thrill of a real *sense of the meeting* in a week-end work camp or a Service Committee group project than do so in their home or college-related meetings. There are fortunate exceptions. Where are we headed as local meetings? If we don't know where we are going, any road will take us there !

The Pollards do not solve all this for us. They do summarize meeting operations and describe several historic sessions on critical issues. These last suffer from the limitations of historical records, as the authors themselves state. Sociological and psychological studies of contemporary activities can probe more deeply.

One wonders why the inquiries and comments elicited by this book have come almost entirely from Americans. Could it be our feelings of need? Are we in a mood to undertake the suggested research?

Antioch College

BARRETT HOLLISTER

Briefer Notices

BY HENRY J. CADBURY

Halliday Jackson (1771-1835), a Friend of New Garden and later of Darby, Pennsylvania, left on record a firsthand report of the visions of Handsome Lake, the founder of the Gaiwio, or national religion of the Iroquois Indians. This and other material is now printed for the first time, edited by Anthony F. C. Wallace in *Pennsylvania History*, 19 (1952), 117-147, 325-349, under the title "Halliday Jackson's Journal to the Seneca Indians, 1798-1800," illustrated with drawings and written artificially in a biblical style.

* * *

The Descendants of Edward Fitz Randolph and Elizabeth Blossom, 1630-1950, by Louise A. Christian and Howard S. Fitz Randolph (1950, 222 pages) deals with the entire history of the descendants in America of the Pilgrim immigrant who lived first at Barnstable, Massachusetts, and then in New Jersey. It includes with many additions and corrections Mrs. Christian's article in *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, Vols. 97-99. See this BULLETIN, 35 (1946), 89.

* * *

A Record of the Descendants of Robert Lloyd Who Came from Wales and Settled in the Welsh Tract at Merion, Pennsylvania, about 1684 (119 pages and index, ca. 1948) was compiled by Richard Louis Lloyd of West Chester, Pennsylvania. The initial Quaker element continues in many of the lines of descent, though only names and dates are given.

* * *

Eudora Alden Philip, writing on "Swain Free School IV," gives some "Recollections of Dr. Francis B. Gummere as a Teacher at Swain School," published in *The Alden Letter*, No. 79 (January, 1952), 541-543.

* * *

Reports of visits to Quaker communities or Yearly Meetings are interesting historical material, but they rarely have the additional feature of skilful sketches. The elaborate MS record of John Collins (1814-1902) of Burlington, New Jersey, prepared as a keepsake for his wife and narrating, with color sketches of persons and buildings, their visit to Guilford College and North Carolina Yearly Meeting in 1869, is exceptional. It is described, summarized, and partly reproduced in pictures by Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert in the Alumni Journal issue (Vol. 45 [January, 1952], pp. 3-8) of the *Guilford College Bulletin*.

* * *

History and Genealogy of the Stanley Family (copyright, 1949, by Edna Stanley Pickett, Plainfield, Indiana, 144 pages) is primarily a record of the descendants of Nathan Stanley (1807-1875). Only names and dates are given, not places or religion, but presumably much Quaker membership is represented.

The Browns of Providence Plantations: Colonial Years by James B. Hedges (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952, 379 pages) is the first of three volumes projected on the family which included the Quaker, Moses Brown. His life is included in this volume insofar as his business activities of colonial or revolutionary origin are concerned, for the material used is mainly the business papers of the family described by Professor Hedges in *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society, 51 (1941), 21-26. There is less about religious, educational, and philanthropic matters.

* * *

The two later instalments on the history of Quakerism in the four Scandinavian countries (see BULLETIN, 38 [1949], 123) were published in *Nordisk Kväker Tidskrift*, Vol. I (1949), as follows: "*Vannernas Samfund i Sverige*" by Emilia Fogelklou Norlind and Greta Stendahl (Number 3, pp. 7-18) and "*Kväkargruppen i Helsingfors (Finland)*" by Greta Langenskjöld (Number 4, pp. 10-16).

* * *

Owen Jay Gingerich has written on "Relations between the Russian Mennonites and the Friends during the Nineteenth Century" in *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, 25 (1951), 263-295.

* * *

Apropos the accidental discovery at Richmond, Indiana, of the gravestone of Caleb Mendenhall, the *Palladium-Item and Sun Telegram* of that city for March 5, 1942, publishes an account of him and reproduces a portrait of him painted by his grandson, the Quaker artist, Marcus Mote. Caleb Mendenhall was born in Georgia in 1769. With other Quakers he and his family migrated in 1802 from North Carolina to Miami County, Ohio.

* * *

A note on "Marcus Mote of Ohio," the Quaker artist of the middle of the last century, was published with illustrations in *Antiques*, March 1951, p. 213, by Hazel Spencer Phillips.

* * *

In *Art Quarterly*, 14 (1951), 121-136, Julius S. Held, writing on "Edward Hicks and the Tradition," challenges the idea that the Quaker artist was a naive original painter. He shows how his pictures owe much to the older patterns, as his "Peaceable Kingdom" resembles older themes of Adam or Orpheus with the animals. They were derived probably through prints from the academic tradition.

* * *

Senator Paul H. Douglas gave an address on Founder's Day, 1951, at the University of Pennsylvania which is printed in the *General Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, 54 (1952), 131-138. It deals with "Two Eighteenth Century Philadelphians: Benjamin Franklin and John Woolman." In the well-written and interesting contrast Woolman's merits are so understandingly presented that one is not inclined to cavil at calling him a Philadelphian.

The firm of J. E. Rhoads & Sons has published an illustrated brochure on the development of their business of leather belts, packing, etc., under the title "250th Anniversary Year (From Father to Son for Eight Generations)." Joseph Rhoads, son of an early Pennsylvania settler, started the tanning business at Marple, twelve miles from Philadelphia, in 1702. The handicraft gave place to a manufacturing organization with the use of scientific research and other modern methods. Though the brochure does not mention the fact, in all generations the Rhoads family have been Friends, and for over a century scrupulously attempted to avoid direct contribution to the military by refusing war orders. Their main office is in Philadelphia, their factory at Wilmington, Delaware.

* * *

Churchwardens' Presentments (17th Century) from the two archdeaconries of the diocese of Chichester, England, edited by Hilda Johnstone, has been published by the Sussex Record Society: Part I. Archdeaconry of Chichester in Volume 49 (1948); Part 2. Archdeaconry of Lewes in Volume 50 (1949). Documents of this sort always give much light on nonconformity, and after 1660 often mention Friends as delinquents in various church duties, sometimes identified explicitly as Quakers. They are therefore invaluable aids to the local history of Friends. The longest list of Quakers in the area here covered is for Warbleton.

* * *

In four weekly instalments from May 5 to May 26 inclusive, 1949, the *Newmarket* [Ontario] *Era and Express* published an account of Job Hughes (1740-1807) by Ethel Willson Trewhella. Job Hughes was active in the Quaker migration from Catawissa, Pennsylvania, to Yonge Street, Upper Canada. Sources used include the journal of Moses Roberts, who was imprisoned with Hughes at Lancaster in 1780 and sundry minute books in Pennsylvania and Ontario. A pamphlet by the same author, *The Quakers Come to Yonge Street*, was published at Aurora, New York, in 1937.

* * *

The Richard L. Cary lecture at German Yearly Meeting in 1951 was by Manfred Pollatz and has been published under the title *John Woolman von der schöpferischen Kraft der Persönlichkeit* (Bad Pyrmont: Leonhard Friedrich, 1951, 29 pages). It is a spirited and somewhat philosophical application to our time of phases of the life and thought of Woolman.

* * *

In anticipation of interest in local Quakerism by attenders at the World Conference, Stephen Allott produced with help from others an attractive pamphlet *Friends in Oxford: The History of a Quaker Meeting* (1952, 24 pages). Beside full account of the planting and persecution it tells of the various visitors and meeting locations up to the present time.

James Thomas Flexner has contributed to the *New-York Historical Society Quarterly*, 36 (1952), 5-42, an article on "Benjamin West's American Neo-Classicism" (illustrated) with some documents on Benjamin West and William Williams. Though dealing primarily with West's painting, "The Death of Socrates," the article has valuable biographical and general information.

* * *

George Valentine Massey II contributes to the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, 106 (1952), 38-52, an account of "Priscilla Kitchen, Quakeress of Salem, Mass., and Kent County, Del., and her Family." Priscilla Kitchen lived ca. 1647-1721. Her husbands were Nathaniel Hume of Boston, George Bowers of Charlestown, Massachusetts, John Curtis of Delaware, and John Gilbert of Philadelphia. The last three were Friends. Many of her descendants have played an important part in Delaware history. This is an expansion of an article by the same author on "Priscilla Kitchen, Delaware Ancestress and her Family" contributed to the Spring 1951 issue of the *Delaware Cavalcade*.

* * *

The Friends' Historical Society has printed as Supplement 24 to its *Journal* the Presidential Address by Frederick B. Tolles delivered in August, 1952, at Lancaster, England. It is entitled *The Atlantic Community of the Early Friends* and shows the close connection maintained between the Quakers on both sides of the Atlantic. A useful list of some sixty English Friends (nearly half of them women) who became "First Publishers of Truth" in America before 1663 makes a useful Appendix, while Isabel Ross's introduction complements the picture by describing the influence of North-West England in early Quaker expansion, especially towards Europe and the Near East.

* * *

In the *Papers* of the Bibliographical Society of America, 45 (1951), 148-151, George C. Rockefeller, writing on "The First Testaments Printed in New Jersey," reports the discovery of one of 1779 at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and one of 1782 at Yale, both printed by the Quaker printer Isaac Collins at Trenton, New Jersey. He printed the whole Bible in 1791, the first in New Jersey; but no early New Testament by him was known, though an edition of 1780 had been conjectured from advertisements.

* * *

In *Warwick County Records*, Vol. VII. are given the Quarter Sessions Records, Easter, 1674, to Easter, 1682, edited by S. C. Ratcliff and H. C. Johnson. Beginning with Easter, 1679, we get a great number of presentments of popish recusants and dissenters described as Quakers. Nearly thirty places in the county are represented. Though not exact or complete, the available lists of names and places (cf. chart, pp. lxxxiii ff.) invite comparison with Quaker records for the area and period. They supplement Besse's *Sufferings*, which for this county does not extend past 1678.

Articles in Quaker Periodicals

BY LYMAN W. RILEY

University of Pennsylvania Library

The American Friend

T. Edmund Harvey and Isabel Ross present a brief history of Swarthmoor Hall in "One of the Homes of Quakerism."—June 5, 1952, pp. 194-195.

The Friend (London)

Grace E. Lane writes a short account of the fifty-year history of the "Friends Vegetarian Society."—March 28, 1952, p. 243.

Friends Intelligencer

"The Quaker Element in Walt Whitman," according to Ferner Nuhn, can be seen not only in his family background but also in the kind of service he performed during the Civil War and in the form and spirit of his poetry.—Jan. 19, 1952, pp. 31-32.

"Czars at Meeting," by Anna Brinton, describes the contact that four members of Russian royalty had with Friends from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries.—Jan. 26, 1952, pp. 45-46.

Letter from the Past No. 122 examines the story of a Quaker visit to President Lincoln shortly before the Emancipation Proclamation was issued, and gives reasons for doubting it.—Feb. 9, 1952, pp. 75-76.

"Queens and Quakers," Letter from the Past No. 123, digs out the few occasions when Friends had dealings with "female sovereigns" of England.—Feb. 23, 1952, pp. 101-102.

A chapter from a forthcoming biography of Levi Coffin by Mildred Ann Myerson tells something of his work in the Underground Railroad.—March 1, 1952, pp. 115-116.

Elwood Cronk reviews some of the incidents in the powerful ministry of Samuel Bownas.—March 22, 1952, pp. 157-158.

George Fox and other early Quakers published statements of faith not as tests of membership but as a defense against false charges: "Fox and the Faith-Makers" (Letter from the Past No. 124).—March 29, 1952, pp. 172-173.

In 1654 the first Quaker missionaries came to Oxford and met with an unfriendly reception in that university town. Letter from the Past No. 125 mentions some of these "Early Quaker Arrivals at Oxford."—May 10, 1952, p. 265.

Josephine M. Benton, in "John Woolman on Professions," describes the attitude toward his several vocations of the "tailor of Mount Holly."—May 24, 1952, pp. 291-292.

Letter from the Past No. 126 discusses "Occupational Trends of Friends," among which shoemaking has seemed to predominate.—June 14, 1952, p. 333.

A. Day Bradley writes of "The Churchmans of Nottingham Lots," on the Maryland-Pennsylvania border, and gives some little known facts about John Churchman (1753-1805), surveyor and cartographer.—June 28, 1952, pp. 364-365.

The description of a "Visit to Dolgelly and District" by Evelyn S. Whiting includes much information about early Welsh Friends and their meetings.—June 28, 1952, pp. 366-367.

Letter from the Past No. 127, "Publicity of Quaker Gatherings," contrasts the alarming reports of "dangerous" Quaker assemblings in the seventeenth century with the comparatively little-noticed gatherings of today.—July 26, 1952, pp. 428-429.

The Friends' Quarterly

Isabel Ross gives some of the background and describes the highlights of "Early Quakerism in Northern England."—July, 1952, pp. 134-143.

John L. Nickalls tells some of the history of the writing and publishing of "The Journal of George Fox," and gives examples of editorial changes made in the first edition by Thomas Ellwood.—July, 1952, pp. 144-151.

T. Joseph Pickvance, in "George Fox's Hills of Vision," points out how real was the sense of direct guidance that early Friends had.—July, 1952, pp. 152-160.

Richenda C. Scott takes the occasion of sketching the life of Dame Elizabeth Cadbury, in "Ninety-Three Years," to show the changes that took place during her lifetime in the Society of Friends and in English life generally.—July, 1952, pp. 161-176.

The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society

"Some Byways in Quaker Research" have led Isabel Ross to believe that the eager reception given to Quakerism by the people of the Northwest of England was due in large part to the tradition of individual independence there, where feudalism had never been strong. Isabel Ross also gives an intimate picture of the attractive character and daily life of Daniel Fleming, an energetic persecutor of early Friends, and suggests that it was fear that drove him and others like him to persecution.—43 (1951), 43-56.

"The Catholic Boys at Ackworth" by Reginald Reynolds is a careful examination of the data concerning Michael and Theodore Dziewicki, sons of a Polish refugee father and an English Quaker mother. They attended Ackworth School for only a few months, but there is some evidence to show that Michael indirectly influenced the conversion to Catholicism of another student, Wilfrid Meynell, who later became a prominent editor and leading Catholic layman.—43 (1951), 57-71.

Russell S. Mortimer contributes some information not to be found in Besse's *Sufferings* about "Bristol Quakers and the Oaths," taken from the seventeenth-century records in the Bristol City Archives.—43 (1951), 72-77.

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